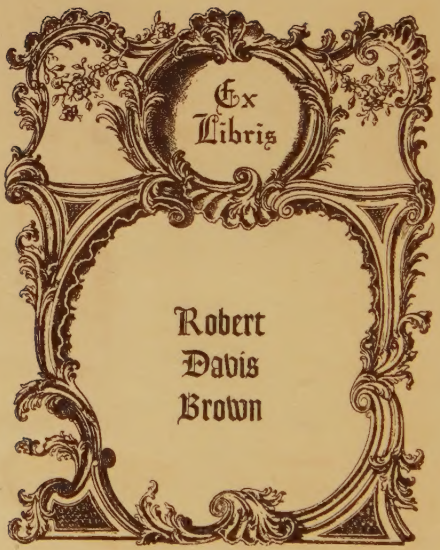
NEGRO
NATIONAL ASSET OR LIABILITY ?

Robt. D. Brown



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National Asset or Liability?

(The Battle of Bloods)

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NEGRO

National Asset or Liability?

By

JOHN LOUIS HILL

(The Battle of Bloods)

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To
ABRAHAM MAYBERRY
Who
For more than a quarter-century
worked for my late brother,
James William Hill,
near Gallatin, Tennessee, and to the other
thousands of his faithful type—
This book is
Dedicated

PREFACE

"To the making of books there is no end"; but in the soul of every serious writer there is a lofty purpose and deep desire to take the best out of self and place it upon the printed page where it may abide permanently, and serve the present and future generations.

Into this little volume the writer has put the best that was within him. He does not hope that everything he has said will receive the approbation of every reader; but he does hope that even those who disagree with him will at least give him credit for being sincere in his convictions. He cherishes the hope, also, that the book will provoke thought and discussion.

If even in small measure his work contributes to better understanding and fuller fellowship between the races, he will be fully repaid and well satisfied.

THE AUTHOR

INTRODUCTION

By Robert L. Vann, LL. D.

AMERICAN readers, during the past few years, have been asked to read novels, pamphlets and magazine articles pretending to deal with the so-called race problem of this country. I have read a few novels by both white and colored authors which carry heroes and heroines taken from Negro life. I have read extended articles in magazines and I have read pamphlets galore, all pretending to deal—and I presume honestly—with the so-called race and color problem in the United States. It is perhaps only fair to state that most of the novels have not only been disappointing, but they have been discouraging, especially to Negroes who know that most of the characters in many of the novels written are not true according to the better Negro life as practiced in this country. As for pamphlets and magazine articles, many of us have read them with a full knowledge that

the writers were more interested in price than in principle.

It is most refreshing, then, to be able to present to the students in this country something entirely new from the pen of an American white man who has challenged conventionality, dismissed prejudice and thrown precedent to the winds.

Dr. John Louis Hill, a white man of southern birth, has done the most exceptional thing we have ever read. He has told the truth about the Negro and the white man in this country. He has told some truths which Negroes have known for years, but which few white people have ever admitted. Dr. Hill has gone minutely into the delicacies of race relations, blood mixtures, race origins, inheritances, environment and religion to an extent heretofore never attempted by any living white man. The fact that Dr. Hill was a pastor for many years, has travelled extensively in Europe, has lived and labored in the North, has among his acquaintances some of the finest types of American white manhood and womanhood as well as some of the best educated and refined colored men and women of the country fits him especially for the

work he has so beautifully done. This exhibits more courage, more truth and more actual history touching the whites and blacks of this country than has ever been written, to my knowledge, by any other American white man. It is aglow with fact and philosophy. It furnishes, as far as I know, the first frank and dispassionate appraisal of the Negro group ever given to the public by a white authority. Nordics who read the book may be dumbfounded to find that one of their group has finally pulled back the curtain and exposed the back-stage activities of the two races to public gaze. Colored Americans will read the book as the first evidence of the determination of real white people of this country to bring about a condition of fair play, relieved of "colorphobia." I bespeak for the work a fixed and definite place in the library of every intelligent reader in this country. The book deserves a world-wide circulation.

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NEGRO

NATIONAL ASSET OR LIABILITY?

(THE BATTLE OF BLOODS)

CHAPTER I

INTERRACIAL RAMBLING

SO IMPORTANT is the subject under discussion, that to be honest, direct and frank as a sincere handshake, I find it may be necessary to violate some of the rules of "good writing" in my manner of presenting it. What I have to say is the result of more than a decade of interracial rambling back and forth among white people, and that part of our population known as Negroes.

My personal attitude toward the Negro race has experienced three separate and distinct stages; first, that which I inherited. Bred, born, and brought up in the South, my conception of and feeling toward Negroes was the same as that which characterized a very large majority

of southerners twenty-five years ago. We felt as kindly toward them as we could, while "enduring" them, and making the most of them as a "necessary evil." As servants and "common" laborers they were useful as long as they were kept in their place. We never thought of them as citizens of the nation, or of the state. If indeed they were recognized as human beings, at best we regarded them as a very inferior grade of humanity. Many southerners at that time felt that it would have been better for both white people and Negroes, had the latter been kept in slavery. Even now there are white people who still maintain that Negroes were better off in slavery than they have been in freedom. We indulged then, and many now indulge in a lot of sentiment about the old-time "darky," and the great love that existed between the "black mammies" and their "white folks." However, that sentiment is rapidly vanishing and is becoming a thing of the past.

By fate or fortune, as the case may be, in my early twenties I moved up North, and in the course of time, by force of circumstances, and from studying him as he appeared in his transplanted state from the South to the North, I

received an entirely different impression of the Negro. Out of this new view grew my second distinct attitude toward the colored people. I came to regard them as real human beings and found them to be worthy and useful citizens of the nation and the state, because they were showing themselves capable of serving the nation and the state in many useful ways. And more, they proved that they were capable of being educated, even to a high degree—that they could master the arts and sciences, and become proficient in the learned professions—and that among them were many men and women of clean morals, high ideals, and lofty conceptions of life and duty.

I became convinced that they were a misunderstood people, that they had not been given a fair chance in a free country, and that the white race was largely to be blamed for this misunderstanding and misuse of the colored race.

This second attitude of mine was the same as that of a great many well-meaning white people whose eyes were only partially open to the real situation, and whose purposes were worthy, relative to changing the situation. I had great

sympathy for the Negro. I desired to help him. In my very limited way I became a patron and, as far as possible, a benefactor of Negro people. I sought opportunity of contact with them and enjoyed their fellowship. In fact, I consecrated my life, as it were, to the cause of interracial understanding and good will.

Today as I look back upon my second distinct attitude toward the Negro, I am convinced that while it was an improvement over the first, it was far from what I believe to be the correct one, which I now hold. This third theory of interracial relationship on my part does not recognize race at all, save in the scientific regard of its biological and sociological phases. It is based upon the fact that all people are the results of creative forces operating in their own peculiar times and climes, under the inexorable law of cause and effect. In this respect, what we are pleased to term God, is the Author and Maker of all people. And for this reason the real gifts and permanent values coming to, and characteristic of humanity, are vouchsafed alike to all people regardless of race, color, kindred, tongue or tribe, save as they may be affected by the forces of heredity and environment. To say

the least, in the creative processes, nature, and nature's God are not respecters of persons.

In my second attitude toward the Negro, I found myself pitying him, sympathizing with him, desiring to uplift him, always ready to cater to him, and make allowances, simply because he was a Negro.

But now, for two reasons I have passed beyond that point; first, because sensible Negroes do not desire or appreciate that attitude on the part of white people; and second, because it belittles the Negro by placing him upon a secondary and inferior basis and does him an injustice. Therefore, my present attitude is that of regarding Negroes solely as men and women —no better and no worse than men and women of other races limited by the same opportunities, and laboring under the same handicaps. I will not associate with a Negro because he is a Negro; nor will I refuse to associate with him because he is a Negro. There are some Negroes who I think would be honored by my association, and there are other Negroes whose association would be an honor to me. All this, not because I am white and they are colored but because I am in some respects superior to some

Negroes, and because in some respects some Negroes are superior to me. The matter of color has absolutely nothing to do with it except as the question is affected by inherited prejudice and false sentiment.

Most white Americans are very inconsistent in their judgment and attitude relative to this question of color. For example, everybody knows that all individuals who are known to have even the slightest mixture of colored blood in their veins are at once classified as "Negroes." Relative to American Indians, it is entirely different, for according to our white folk, we have Indians and "part Indians." Even some distinguished American women boast of being "part Indian." To be a descendant of Pocahontas is regarded as a social distinction. At least one former First Lady of the Land, brilliant, beautiful and internationally loved and honored is said to have Indian blood in her veins. America's greatest humorist, Will Rogers, and Mr. Curtis, Vice President of the United States are proud of their Indian blood. However, these distinguished people are not known as Indians—they are just "part Indian."

Now the question arises, why classify all who

have even the slightest strains of Negro blood as "Negroes," and those having a trace of Indian blood as "part Indian"? Why not as well say "part Negro," as "part Indian?"

The answer lies in the fact that Negroes were subjected to the indignity and humiliation of human slavery. Barring this one traditional prejudice, Negroes will compare favorably with red Indians in any respect. In truth, the colored man, despite his enslavement, has achieved much more in America than the red man has done. Indians in America are a vanishing race. Negroes are not a vanishing people, and should they ever cease to exist as a distinctive class in this country, it will be the result of absorption through the blending of bloods and mixing of strains, constantly going on in the processes of our complex population.

With highest respect for any American who may be proud of being "part Indian," those who will reason from the standpoint of fact rather than from fancy and prejudice must admit that Negroes, in personal appearance and in intellectual and cultural potentiality, compare favorably with red Indians.

The day of the old fashioned "race problem,"

in my judgment, has passed. Sociologically speaking, we will always have human problems, but they will not result from the color of skin so much as from various characteristic shades of thought, and from the methods of life resulting therefrom. With the passing of the present generation, the old race prejudice will pass also, and the next generation will not be much bothered about the color problem. The troubles growing out of this color question, demanding practical adjustment in a practical way, can only be approximately met, until the real thinkers and leaders of both racial groups reach the point I have indicated in my third stage of experience in dealing with this question.

Most white people actually concerned about the welfare of the colored race are still in the second phase of the relationship. They are really very kindly disposed to the Negro, many of them with a burning desire to help him in his efforts to better his situation. But the process of improvement is hindered by the fact that that attitude puts the Negro in the position of a receiver, and the white man in the position of a giver. That attitude constantly holds the white individual "superior" to the colored one. The

white man becomes the benevolent patron of the Negro. He looks down upon him and talks down to him. In this position the white man really regards himself as intensely humanitarian in that he is honestly endeavoring to uplift an inferior creature.

The situation, as a rule, is accepted by Negroes at large from the eminent down to the humblest among them. They seem perfectly willing to continue as the recipients of the white man's benefaction and condescending recognition; and, as a result, the Negro race in this country is somewhat afflicted with a respect-destroying mental disease which might be called the "gimmies." This feeling destroys self-respect, and the Negro can never take his place as an upstanding man and citizen of the nation until he does so *as a man* and not as a Negro.

This same relationship between would-be friendly white people and Negroes, obstructs sane interracial adjustment because of the false and sickening sentiment it develops among such white people. For example, when a Negro achieves something out of the ordinary among his class, like the writing of a "poem," the authorship of a book, the composition of a piece

of music, etc., his white admirers swarm around him and go into ecstasies over what the Negro has done, when had the same thing been performed by a white individual, but little attention might have been paid to it. There is no sound reason in praising a Negro for what he has done, simply because he is a Negro.

The same principle works reversely as well, in the minds of white people who are prejudiced against the Negro, so that when a colored person does achieve something actually worth while —perhaps far superior to what many white individuals have done—credit and recognition are denied him, simply because he is a Negro. Not until race prejudice for or against the Negro is removed from the minds of white people, and not until Negroes cease to think of themselves as Negroes rather than as human beings, is it going to be possible to fully solve the interracial problem.

Even in the more practical phases of common experience this color prejudice asserts itself. Take, for example, the question of labor. If any people on earth should be actually and equally honored they are those who work with their hands. Yet, in labor organizations throughout

the nation the color line is more or less distinctly drawn. The white laborer, whether in the open or closed shop, feels superior as a man, if not as a laborer, to the colored man. The public utilities, private corporations, cities, states, and the Federal Government all more or less discriminate against the Negro as a laborer, not because he is incompetent or less skilled than the white man, but because the color of his skin is not white, they close the door of opportunity before his face.

Out of our prejudice against the Negro because he was once a slave, has evolved an altogether erroneous idea of work itself. Most people take physical labor to be an affliction and, in a sense, a disgrace, to be avoided and escaped as early in life as possible. It is different now, but in my early days in the South it was considered almost a disgrace for a white woman to do any sort of household work. The southern young ladies boasted that they did not know how to cook and the less they knew about practical things, and the less they could do in a practical way, was all to their credit in the scale of quality. Of course this state of affairs was possible only because of Negro servitude. The

southern "aristocracy" could well afford to be grandiloquent, and their boasted hospitality was rendered very easy because of human labor that was exercised on the plane of the animal but guided by the intelligence of a human being.

Naturally then, manual labor was considered beneath the dignity of ladies and gentlemen; and, for that matter, this same idea has prevailed as far back as human history runs, for until recently, in every age and generation there has been human slavery—toilers working like animals for the ease and comfort of their masters. The day of that sort of slavery has passed, and with the dawn of our new and modern age, one of the greatest truths made plain to everybody is the fact that physical toil is not an affliction, not a disgrace, not a thing to be shunned and ashamed of, but a beneficent provision of nature for the prolongation of life, and the source of greatest happiness to all people.

But for physical toil, the human family would perish from the earth. It is only by labor in one form or another that values are created. Somebody has said that "love is the greatest thing in the world." In the field of sentiment or mind, no doubt this is true; but in the realm

of material necessity, physical work is the greatest and the most honorable thing in this world. The necessity of labor is an established law of being—without exercise our bodies cannot live. Unless we exercise our bodies by useful labor, or in some other way merely for the sake of exercise, we would all experience untimely death. Physical toil has been honored, dignified and consecrated by the greatest individuals known to history, including Jesus Christ Himself.

That Negroes were slaves and performed what we call "menial labor" was no reflection upon them and in no sense a disgrace to them for which they were responsible. The only disgrace was that of the masters, and not of the slaves.

Some time ago, in conversation with a friend, a man of more than ordinary intelligence, I was shocked when he made the sweeping assertion that both the Negroes and the white people of America would be better off were all Negroes sent to Africa or to some other place where they could be colonized and could live their own life in their own way. When I asked "what do you mean by all 'Negroes in America'?"

He answered, "I mean just what I say—all people in this country who have any Negro blood, and are classed as Negroes, would be better off if they lived elsewhere."

Of course such an opinion is too absurd to be dignified by discussion. But it does raise a question for practical consideration, viz., are Negroes in America an asset or a liability to the nation? The answer to this question involves research, careful analysis, unbiased reasoning and logical judgment, all of which would go far toward the full solution of what has been called "the race problem in America." It would be most valuable because it would put the American Negro of today, before the American public in a new light and in his true and legitimate setting.

This has never really been done in a comprehensive way. White people generally are sadly lacking in information concerning the vital facts relative to the Negro element of our population. White people do not read Negro newspapers; the story of the Negro has never been fully told in the columns of the white press. Even most of the fiction built upon and around Negro characters is but an exploitation of the

sordid, gruesome, and in a way, the humorous side of Negro life. Negro wit and humor as set forth in the writings of Octavus Roy Cohen, Hugh Wiley, Irvin S. Cobb, Roark Bradford, and others, together with the interpretation of Negro characteristics in the world-famous broadcastings by "Amos and Andy," are only a portrayal of certain phases of Negro life, so overdrawn that they do the colored population as a whole an almost irreparable injustice. Negro lawyers, preachers, doctors and teachers of this day and generation do not speak in the vernacular attributed to them by these writers. Successful Negro business men on the whole, transacting business that annually amounts to hundreds of millions, are in no sense represented by the honest, but ignorant "Amos," nor by the stupidly designing "Andy." The characteristic features of the present generation of Negroes in this country are not those portrayed by the illustrators of Negro stories in current literature.

The colored race of this period cannot be understood and appreciated by the white race in America until the modern "new Negro" is adequately depicted by white writers who know him and understand him, and whose motives for

writing are other than the commercial exploitation of the exaggerated features, foibles, and grotesque fancies of former days. The colored man of today must be approached with a sincere investigative attitude that desires to know him as he is. The result of such investigation will be a new literature relative to the Negro that will astonish the world.

This literature will fix the Negro in the mind of the public as a very potent asset, and never a liability to this country. It will reveal him as our most dependable asset in the field of manual labor. It will show of course, that materially speaking he was an asset while a slave to the white man. It will reveal that the much heralded reconstruction of the South after the Civil War was made possible only by "cheap" Negro labor; that not only did the Negro make possible the boasted ante-bellum aristocracy of the South, but that it rebuilt the section which had been devastated by the Civil War. It will show that after the lapse of some years, despite all his handicaps, through the various processes of education, the Negro began to develop his mind so that his labor became more and more intelligent and efficient; and that today as a skilled

laborer, he holds an honorable place everywhere, and in this respect is now retarded only by inherited prejudice against his color.

This new literature on the Negro will establish the fact that he has already contributed distinctively to the learned professions and fine arts in his hitherto brief and difficult day—that really everything distinctive in American music and literature has had its origin concerning, or directly with, the Negro, for everything else in these two phases of American life is of near or remote European origin, and is emphatically of European type.

When the Negro is revealed as he is, he will be seen as possessing an artistic temperament not characteristic of the American white man. This temperament of the Negro is more like that of the Latin, which is creative of, and readily reacts to all forms of art, particularly to those of expression through public speaking, music, and acting upon the stage. When understood, the Negro will be recognized as possessing many of the sterling virtues characteristic of the noblest type of manhood, such as infinite patience, unlimited capacity for pain, patriotic loyalty to his country, true fidelity to his friends,

unparalleled fervor in devotion to his God and his church, and an undying optimism that has carried him through long years of suffering, holding before him the hope and expectation of a better day and which, despite his difficulties, will ultimately bring him into the realization of his highest hopes.

When the white public shall have overcome its prejudice to the extent that it can and will view the Negro as he is, the average colored man or woman of the present generation will be seen as a physically attractive, rather than repulsive individual. While none of us are supposed to honorably get through the world on our "good looks," a repulsive personality is always a hindrance to progress. Everybody knows that many of the native Africans, as they were brought here in slavery, were unattractive, and as a rule were of a low order of natural intelligence. With poorly developed cranium, ungainly form, many of whom were physically not far removed from the brute in appearance, they were at least thought to be fit subjects for the inhuman position into which by force they were thrown.

We must recognize, however, that the origi-

nal Negro slaves brought to this country were not representative of the best types of native African Negroes. Really, they were of the very lowest type, because it was easier for the slave-thieves to seize and abduct the lower types than it would have been for them to capture the higher types of the natives. But transplanted into a different atmosphere which, in a sense was civilized even in the days of slavery, those Negroes immediately began, through association, to absorb the higher intelligence of their masters. Naturally, with mental improvement followed physical improvement.

Early in this period of slavery there began a blending of white blood with Negro blood. Of course, the result of this mixture of the two races was a physical and mental improvement in each succeeding generation of the mixed bloods. This admixture has been continuously going on from those early days until the present, with the result that a large majority of the more than ten millions of Americans known as Negroes are of mixed blood, and more than fifty per cent of this majority are more white than colored.

As a result of all this we have a large num-

ber in our population classed as Negroes who, in physical attractiveness, when viewed without prejudice are admittedly equal to the best looking people, both men and women, in our population.

This statement will not be accepted by any others than those who are honest enough to admit that there is no "color prejudice" except when it comes to the color of human skin. Black, in every other sphere, is quite as pleasing to the eye as is white. Pure white, unrelieved by the shade of any other color is unattractive and monotonous. Where is the white woman satisfied to appear in public with her color undoctored and her face unadorned, just as God created her and as nature has made her? From the desire of men and women to change their color by the use of cosmetics, one of the biggest industries of the world has grown. And what the arts and the devices of the toilet fail to accomplish, the modern American flapper achieves by sunning her almost nude body on the beaches by the sea. What white man or white woman is not proud to achieve the deep brown or tan which is the natural, God-given color of hundreds of thousands of so-called Negroes?

This new, unbiased, unprejudiced, but absolutely scientific and thorough estimate of the Negro in America, to determine whether he is an asset or a liability to the nation, will in no sense idealize him. In estimating him as a mere man among other men, his weaknesses, his faults, his inconsistencies, his meannesses, must all be taken into account, else the answer inevitably will be false.

The American Negro is today in perhaps as great danger from his over-zealous and misled white friends as he is from his white enemies. To idealize him, pet and pamper him, make him believe that he is better and greater than he is, and that his achievements have merit which they really have not, and that he is fit and ready to assume positions in society and to perform tasks of which he has little comprehension, is just as fatal to his future as are all the handicaps his enemies are able to place upon him. But the Negro, the same as any other man who desires to attain the goal of success and happiness, if allowed to walk in the light, will find his way.

CHAPTER II

WHAT IS THE NATION?

IN STUDYING the Negro and the nation in an effort to determine whether the Negro is an asset or a liability to the nation, it is necessary to comprehend the significance of the terms, *Negro* and *nation*. In this chapter an effort to define the nation is made.

Like the word world, the term nation, is very elastic and is susceptible of numerous definitions, depending upon the angle of approach. Both words, for instance, may be considered in the geographical and material sense, having reference of course to area and to latitudinal and longitudinal location. This definition as applied to the world and to a nation in the lesser sense, means the world of material order, beauty, and natural resource. In this sense, the nation known as the United States of America is vast in area and unlimited in resource. It is probably the richest domain under one flag on the face of the earth. Materially speaking, it is

the greatest and richest nation in the world.

Another and more important definition of the terms, nation and world, has to do with human history—the extension of the human race into time—the failures and successes of humankind as they come on the stage of action, play their part and make their exit. It is that which is referred to when we speak of the "history of a nation," or the "history of the world."

The United States of America, as a nation, with its multiplicity of racial and national strains, is the most peculiar and complex in the world family of nations. It is different from every other nation in that practically every racial strain and every national shade of thought and action is here represented under one flag, one constitution, and supposedly one freedom.

In the British Isles, the Anglo-Saxon predominates; in Germany the Teutonic is the prevailing type; in Italy, France and Spain the Latins prevail; and so in practically every other nation except America, there is an age-old heritage of its own predominant and prevailing racial and national type.

But here, while English is the official language, in a metropolitan city like New York,

practically every language under the sun is spoken. Of course, in the beginning of American history the meager population was not so complex. The southern sections were settled and occupied largely by the Cavaliers, and the New England section by the Puritans. Over a considerable stretch of earlier American history there was sharp conflict and competition between the Puritan and the Cavalier, but in later years, particularly after the Civil War, there was a blending of the two strains resulting from the inter-marriage of sons and daughters of the North and South.

Still later, with the influx of multi-millions of European immigrants of every type, kindred, tongue and tribe, no longer did the Anglo-Saxon, the Puritan or the Cavalier predominate.

Another racial element in the make-up of this nation dates back to the earliest colonial days. For two reasons, that element was, and still remains the most distinct of all the racial strains in this country; first, because the original people of the race were brought to our shores in bondage and sold here as slaves; and secondly, because the native color of that race was black.

Naturally, those two facts constituted a line of demarcation between those African Negroes and all other people in America, which, so far, nothing has obliterated.

However, that black strain has survived through all the years of American history, in bondage and in freedom, its descendants now comprising approximately fourteen millions of people, more than one-tenth of the country's population. And, notwithstanding the social revulsion to the idea, nature, the unerring alchemist has mixed, blended, and cross-bred the black and white strains until the color of the general average of Americans called Negroes is far from black. It is only in the minds of the people that the line of distinction separating the blacks from the whites remains in most part unchanged.

The inevitable progress of civilization in which no outstanding evil can always endure, rendered necessary the abolition of Negro slavery in America. "In the fullness of time" when slavery had to go, the fact was accomplished, regardless of the cost in material force and human life. For the time, the Negro slave was a factor so important in American history

that his liberation became essential to the perpetuity of the Federal Union.

But strange as it may seem, after Negro slaves, technically at least, became free American citizens, neither the South which opposed his freedom, nor the North which gave it to him, really regarded him as a citizen or an essential part of the nation.

This is so true that even today a large majority of white Americans, regardless of where they reside, or of their ancestry, in considering whether the Negro is an asset or a liability to the nation, involuntarily think of the colored man as an asset or liability to the *white people*. Even the North which freed the Negro and theoretically recognized his equality of citizenship, is little more practically conscious of the actuality of Negro citizenship than is the South. It is equally true that in considering the so-called race problem, most white people think of it as having entirely to do with Negroes. The white man does not consider himself an integral part of the race problem. When he thinks at all on the subject, it is with the conviction that whatever is done to solve the race problem must be wrought upon the Negro. He does not for a

moment recognize that it may be necessary that some adjustments of thought and action are to be made on the part of white people before it is possible for the two races to meet upon a common ground of understanding. In other words, the average white man meets the interracial challenge with the threadbare statement that "this is the white man's country." In considering whether the Negro is an asset or liability to the nation, most white people think of the "nation" as being white, and white only.

Originally, so far as we have any exact knowledge, this was the red man's country. By accident or otherwise, this continent was discovered by white men and in due course white people from across the seas poured into this continent and proceeded to "take up" the land. Here, they planted the seeds of white civilization. Here, in the course of events they established this republic. The great, dominant force that builded this nation emanated from the brain and brawn of the Caucasian.

From the inception of early colonial life in America and on through the establishment and marvelous growth of the republic, the prevailing white racial aspect was trimmed with two

other shades, viz., red and black. The red was provided by the native Indian. As the white increased, the red decreased, and as the whites advanced the reds gave way before their irresistible progress. And now, the red strain in American citizenship is comparatively so little that if stirred into a paint-pot of racial color, would scarcely give it a tinge.

The dark element in our original national make-up of course, came through Negroes originally brought here as slaves, and whose tribe constantly increased through the processes of breeding, carefully watched over and furthered by their masters. This was done almost entirely from the economic viewpoint, for the birth and raising of a healthy colored boy or girl meant more to the master than did the birth and raising of the finest litter of pigs, or the finest sheep, or cow, or horse. And naturally, while the shade of red was fading from one end of American life, the shade of black was continually increasing on the other end. Through the long stretch of slavery in America and through the more than half-century of years that have elapsed since the Negro was set free, his tribe in varying shades of color has increased, and were the shade

of black distilled along with the white and red of American racial color, and all stirred together, the whole would be about one-fifteenth black. Such is discovered to be the racial or ethnical composition of this nation today.

Of course we have in America many national types which in some vital respects may differ more widely than do Negroes and white people. Naturally, this does not apply to the question of color but it does apply to personal appearance in other senses, and even more so to temperament and varying tendencies. For example, there are differences between the dark-complexioned and fiery immigrants from southern Italy and the light-complexioned, phlegmatic Scandinavians, more marked than the difference between the average white man and the average Negro in this country. We have with us Greeks, Armenians, French, Italians, Spaniards, Russians, with a scattering of orientals of various types and shades, all in their own way contributing to the "melting pot" of so-called American civilization.

The most conspicuous, and at present the most amusing characteristic of the many sided American life, is what someone has termed the "top-

loftical assummacy" of those who consider themselves distinctly Anglo-Saxon. In their judgment they are the only real Americans. They brought the mother tongue to these shores. They were the pilgrim fathers, and their descendants have been, and are the only truly American fathers. So deeply rooted in the minds of the general public has this idea become, that almost every other nationality and racial strain is designated by some nickname. If not by a nickname, then by the hyphenated word. For instance, Anglo-Saxons of the upper crust call the Jews, "kikes"; the French, "frogs"; the Germans, "heinies"; the Italians, "wops"; the Irish, "micks"; the Mexicans, "greasers"; the Chinese, "chinks"; and last, but not least, the Negroes, "coons."

In a sense the various racial strains and national types here in America constitute a "melting pot," but after all, they are not so thoroughly mixed as the term "melting pot" might indicate. As a result, the nation itself is sectionally provincial. This is true also in the larger cities in the South, with the exception of New Orleans, which is largely French; and of course, excepting the colored people, the Anglo-Saxon

blood has predominated. In some parts of the Northwest, like Minnesota and the Dakotas, the Scandinavians largely hold sway. In the New England states, Puritan ideas, if not people of Puritan blood, are in the ascendency. The State of Wisconsin is perhaps more German than anything else, and the northern half of the middle West is largely made up of a general mixture which southerners of a generation ago would have called "just plain damn Yankees."

And, coming into the larger cities we find nearly every one of them characterized by at least four residential sections, with their own peculiar types. There is the predominant element of what we call Americans, the Ghetto, the Italian section and the district in which Negroes are segregated.

Cities like New York, Chicago, San Francisco and some others, have their "Chinatowns." The lesser numbers of various other national and racial strains reside wherever they are permitted to stay.

With its teeming millions, New York for instance, with all its greatness, reduced to its last analysis is perhaps the most provincial city in the world. The same is true of every other large

American city in proportion to the types and the number of its population. And upon the same principle the whole nation is provincial, determined by the types of people lending character and color to the various sections.

However, modern science and invention are rapidly changing this general situation, particularly in the rural sections of the nation. Good roads, rapid transit, motion pictures, modern newspapers, the radio, etc., are bringing all people closer together. For two cents anyone who can read, may at his breakfast table every morning get a résumé of everything that happened in the entire world on the previous day. Distance is thus abolished as men fly across the seas, and as through the whispering galleries of earth, sea and sky, we listen to what the wisest of the world are saying everywhere.

Therefore, the day of provincialism of thought at least, is almost ended. And, as all action is the inevitable result of thought, the day of provincialism in attitude and activity is rapidly declining. Only those whose minds are encased in the hard shells of inherited prejudice can cling to the false traditions of the past, and

feel that peculiar classes here and there, are the preferred creditors of the universe.

This unexpected, unplanned, and really undreamed-of transformation through scientific achievement has wrought, and each day is rapidly working radical changes in the thought and life of the people, for which the world, and our nation particularly, is unprepared. The very foundations under the older ideas and systems of our national régime have been so shaken that many of our old ideas which we considered fixed forever, are tottering to their fall.

Very emphatically, too, many of these changes are for evil. For example, the prevailing disrespect for law and order in the United States; our national conception of what constitutes virtue and purity in the womanhood of our country; the "modernization" of religion as it is taught from many of our foremost pulpits, and as multi-thousands of our professed religionists are attempting to practice it. By this I am not taking sides in the discussion of so-called "fundamentalism" and "modernism" of these latter days. Regardless of what may be any individual's opinion on this much mooted question, it is safe to say that much of the religion of our

time has been emasculated, and as a result, the churches are nothing more than modern institutions and ethical societies. Concerning the purity of our womanhood, I am very loath to believe the statistics obtainable from insurance societies and medical authorities, as well as the prevailing "modern thought" which holds that the old fashioned idea held by our fathers and mothers concerning the sacredness of "virginity" on the part of the young women of today is out-of-date. Indeed, as boldly published by one of our leading magazines, a brilliant young woman writer has made a survey of the nation by obtaining the opinions of young women writers of large newspapers in various sections of the country, establishing the fact that no longer does the average young woman hold the old idea of personal purity. The general pronouncement is that "nice girls are not promiscuous," but goes no further. We are left to surmise the rest.

My candid opinion, however, is that the "wish" upon the part of many of such propagandists of modernism "is father to the thought." I believe there are as many nice girls in the good old fashioned sense as there have

ever been, but God only knows what the modern trend in this, as well as in other downward tendencies, will lead to.

This great nation of ours, founded upon the principle that all men are created free and equal, and that this "land of liberty" was brought into existence to become a haven of refuge for the depressed and down-trodden of all nations, in actual fact, is a thing of the past.

There is only one thing upon which our country, every section of it, regardless of the provincialism of both country and city, is a unit—and that is, that money is the one thing to be desired. Gold is our God. Plutus—the veritable Plutus of antiquity—is our deity. The American Eagle, with outstretched wings to protect the oppressed, and with talons to tear those who would undermine the foundations of the Republic, symbolizing the nation in days gone by, when it advanced "with malice toward none and charity for all," is no longer in reality our national emblem. The dollar mark is practically the only thing that counts.

So as we undertake to define the nation, in order to solve a serious interracial and sociological problem, it is absolutely necessary for us to

understand that this nation is not today what it was meant to be by our fathers who wrote the Declaration of Independence and framed the Constitution. It is not what it was when Abraham Lincoln broke his great heart and gave his noble life for the preservation of the Union. It is not even what it was in 1917 when the prophetic soul of Woodrow Wilson with all the grandeur of his ideals, at last set the seal of the nation upon the decree that sent us to war in order "to make the world safe for democracy."

Therefore, when we apply ourselves to the task of obtaining the truth, of understanding a situation, and of solving a problem, we can only proceed in safety by applying ourselves to the actual facts and the real conditions as they exist today.

When we come to study the question of the Negro and the nation, we cannot approach it through the eyes of our ancestors and see it as it is. We cannot apply the principles nor conform to the practices of those who hold the Negro as being little above the brute, simply because by force and inhuman attitude he was held a long time in slavery. We have got to

consider him in the light of his marvelous achievements during the last half century despite the handicaps under which he has tried to advance in the race of life. We must analyze him mentally, morally, and physically, in a microscopic inspection of all the elements in his make-up. We cannot with any degree of justice consider colored women generally, to be immoral, because in their ignorance and helplessness they were compelled in slavery to submit to the animal desires of their white lords. If the modern trend on the part of the young white women of America is as depicted by many, then, a lot of them, because they are "wise," are now doing what Negro women did many decades ago because they were ignorant and helpless.

The outstanding fact relative to this interracial question today, is that we have with us nearly fourteen million people called Negroes. They are citizens of our country. They comprise more than one-tenth of this nation. In the all-important field of physical labor, they have been and are the most vital and most essential element of the nation. In the realms of literature, music, dramatic art, and many other im-

portant phases of national advancement, they are not far behind the white race. In loyalty to the flag and the fundamental principles of our government, they are practically one hundred per cent perfect. There is scarcely a single incident upon record where any Negro of any importance whatsoever, ever lifted his hand or raised his voice against our government.

It is true that among the lowest order of them there have been and are, some not much above the plane of the brute, who occasionally have attacked white women. Out of this came the "lynch law" of the South, and because still practiced, it remains a blot upon the fair name of our country. In such cases of course, the criminal should be and would be dealt with to the limit of the law, were the law allowed to take its course. But just because the criminal happens to be a "black brute," he becomes a victim of the lynch law; while "white brutes," who in proportion to the population, commit more of such crimes than do "black brutes," as a rule, go free from the vengeance of the mobs.

In our nation today the courts and officers of the law, when not actually in league with the bootleggers, high-jackers, hold-up men and

murderers, are so intimidated by the lawless of the land that a large majority of such criminals go absolutely unapprehended and unpunished. But to the everlasting credit of the approximately fourteen million of colored people, practically none of them have ever engaged in this sort of dastardly business. Of course, among them there are many petty thieves and petty liars. Our jails and penitentiaries have their full quota of black men and black women, but the nature and enormity of the crimes they have committed as a rule are insignificant when compared with the nature and enormity of the crimes of white men and women. Of course, there are Negro murderers just as there are white murderers, but in plotting against the government and in overthrowing our state and national institutions, and in accumulating and hoarding dishonest wealth by which millions are made to suffer, the Negro has not heretofore had nor does he today have much part. Thus, the reader, before arriving at a conclusion as to whether the Negro is an asset or a liability to the nation, should consider well the present condition of our country.

Worse than war, worse than pestilence, is the greed of our nation which is grinding into pow-

der the multi-millions of those who toil by day and by night for the privilege of existence. And while this same modern invention of which I have spoken, has brought comforts and conveniences heretofore undreamed of to the masses of our people, it at the same time has set a standard of living and has created a desire on the part of many for comforts and conveniences which they are not economically able to provide for themselves. Such desire, with inability to gratify it, leads many to live beyond their income, and driven to get gain illegally, thousands are thus added to the criminal classes every year.

The original conception of American independence as set forth in the famous Declaration and as embodied in the Constitution, was that of freedom of thought and liberty of action on the part of the individual. Those immortal documents were founded upon the principle of personal rights, it being understood of course that the "liberty" and "rights" of the individual were not to interfere with the "liberty" and "rights" of all the people in their "community of interests."

Thus, our ship of state was launched and thus

it peacefully sailed until at length it awoke to the fact that a nation calling itself a "free country," at the same time holding hundreds of thousands of human beings as slaves, was the greatest travesty upon government and the most colossal national inconsistency in the then known world. Just how the signers of the Declaration of Independence and the framers of the Constitution of the United States of America could bring those immortal documents into being, with many of them at the time, being slaveholders themselves, is a psychological mystery yet unsolved.

The documents themselves were sound, comprehensive in scope and patriotic in purpose beyond any other statements ever promulgated in the history of mankind, save that of the Man of Galilee when he said "Ye shall know the truth and the truth shall make you free"; and just because those early American documents *were true,* it was as inevitable that the truth they contained should ultimately liberate the slaves as that the sun rises and sets, and the seasons come and go.

Mr. Lincoln's immortal declaration that "no nation half slave and half free can long endure,"

was the final blow that killed outright the monster that, had it been permitted to longer exist, would have wrecked the Republic.

However, a careful analysis of this nation as it is today, reveals that the Declaration of Independence and the National Constitution no longer function as they were originally intended to do. At this point I would suggest that every American who loves his country and is anxious for its future welfare should, if it is possible to obtain a copy of it, read an address that was delivered before the American Philosophical Society, and broadcast from Philadelphia, March 26, 1930, by the Honorable James M. Beck, on "The Changed Conception of the Constitution."

In our day of "big business" and in our age of machinery, personal liberty and the individuality of citizenship have largely been lost in the processes of mass-production, and are being crushed under the juggernaut of a nationalism more destructive to personal liberty than any imperialism that ever characterized the ruthless empires of other days in other lands. So true is this, that our Statue of Liberty has become an emblem of hypocrisy rather than of fact, and

our boasted liberty is a joke and a by-word on the tongues of most other peoples.

Under the heading, *"Calvin Coolidge says,"* among the more or less platitudinous observations of our able ex-President, in his article of September 20, 1930, he holds forth the idea that the present depression in business is due to a temporary period of economic readjustments to a new basis of production costs. He contends that such readjustments are necessary from time to time, and while they are in progress there is always a decline in business activity. He holds forth the encouraging prospect that as it has been in the past, so it must be in the future, when we lay the new foundations and make the new adjustments we always start out toward an era of greater prosperity. He tells us of the vast increase in population, of the multi-billions of increased deposits in commercial and savings banks, and in the money expended in manufacturing. He lays much of the present depression to the great war, but claims that the country has kept moving forward. In his closing paragraph he notes the nation-wide organization and development in transportation, communication, waterways, highways, and electric lines waiting

for a little more confidence and stability. "They," he says, "will furnish employment for a large amount of our surplus labor and capital." "And," he continues, "a country that has been able to make such progress ought to look at temporary readjustment without undue discouragement. The permanent factors of future advance appear secure."

One would consider from the ex-President's observation that the "permanent factors of future advance" are our "surplus of labor and capital." This idea only emphasizes my contention that American government, American business, American capital, and American labor are all a part of a vast, almost incomprehensible and practically heartless *system,* in which the multi-millions of our individuals, all with an infinite capacity for pain and pleasure, are helplessly and hopelessly submerged and lost. American liberty of the individual has been sacrificed upon the altar of American "big business," through the latter's greed for gold, and for the power that comes through gold to those who control it.

All this leads one to wonder what George Washington, Thomas Jefferson and Abraham

Lincoln would have to say about the prostitution of the Declaration of Independence and the American Constitution, were they here and could they speak today.

The process of national development which has led to the present state of affairs is destined to blight individual ambition, and to discourage practically all hope of any individual preferment, save that which may be obtained through the actual purchasing power of money. As evidence of this it is only necessary to know that places in our courts of justice, seats in gubernatorial chairs, and in both houses of Congress are filled, sometimes at tremendous cost—often amounting to hundreds of thousands of dollars —to say nothing of the multi-millions that are quadrennially expended by both of the leading political parties in the election of a President. Such is the sad situation in our country. The contrast between what our nation was intended to be by those who founded it, and what it actually has become, is startling. Viewed pessimistically, the situation holds little encouragement for American Negroes, when a very large majority of them are individuals with but small influence.

In our inordinate greed and mad rush for gold, we hear little of the humanitarian principles of honest, democratic government, except when it is mouthed by candidates for office in political campaigns. At such times the flag is waved, the eagle screams, and the principles of our fathers are pledged anew. They would promise paradise itself for enough votes to sweep them into office. But once in positions of power, if we are to believe what we read in the papers and what we see and hear on every hand, the "dear people" are forgotten and the favored few wax richer, mightier and meaner every day. This belongs not to one political party but to every political party alike.

In his attempt to define the nation as it is today, let no one think this writer holds any brief for the Negro. The colored man is not by nature any better, nor do I believe him any worse than the white man. Given the same opportunity of wealth, position and power, he would most probably be just as bad as the white man. Indeed, in their own group there are many whom the lesser among them call "smart niggers." Some of such devote all their cunning and ingenuity to organizing and exploiting many of their own

race, for the purpose of filling their own greedy pockets. Some of them have proven to be just as tricky and unreliable in politics as any white man could possibly be.

The future of the Negro in this nation depends very largely upon the future attitude of the white majority toward the colored minority. One thing is certain: It is impossible to grasp just what our nation is today, and to comprehend its potentialities for the future, without taking the colored element very seriously into consideration.

CHAPTER III

WHAT IS THE NEGRO?

IN SEEKING answer to the question, "What is the Negro?", it can but be general and comprehensive when we use the term Negro in the generic sense. But of course, there are multitudinous definite and specific answers when it is applied to the various types of individuals classified as "Negroes." Also, the question becomes more and more involved when we study the Negro either generically or as an individual, with reference to his humanitarian status, and to his varied potentialities in our much-involved national outlook.

Sunday, September 21, 1930, I was one of many millions who heard the great scientist, Sir Oliver Lodge, broadcast from London a great address on the "Reality of the Spiritual World." Sir Oliver's deep insight into the immensities and eternities as revealed by that epoch-making deliverance, only confirms the conviction of thinking people that all things within the lim-

ited reach of our physical senses, which we term "material," are insignificant when compared with the incomprehensible tremendousness of illimitable space and the entities operating therein.

An effort to define an individual or a group of individuals as distinct from another individual or from other groups of individuals, by the mere color of the outer covering of the body, which we call skin, becomes a very petty and unprofitable business, fit only for most superficial minds, the range of whose vision is limited to small areas. And yet, apart from foolish sentiment and inherited prejudice, this insignificant matter of color is the only actual barrier between the so-called white and colored racial groups in America today.

In another sense however, the color distinction is significant because it is the line of demarcation between widely varying types of the genus homo, the background and outlook of which, due to physical and psychological influences, are widely different. And in defining the Negro in this respect, only those approaching the question with open minds and from the purely scientific viewpoint, are capable of discovering and an-

nouncing the truth. Those whose eyes are blinded by prejudice against the insignificant question of color and whose attitude is unfavorable from the outset, are incapable of sounding the spiritual depths of the souls of men, and have not the capacity to make mental measurements of others whose spiritual and mental qualities may be greater than their own.

If the "proper study of mankind is man," we may arrive at the truth concerning man only through open minded investigation. The reason why scientific research, discovery and invention in the material world, have so overwhelmingly outstripped metaphysical research in the mental and spiritual worlds is, that it has been impossible for scientific investigation to proceed in any way other than honestly. The true scientist searches only for facts, regardless of what they may reveal. He is perfectly willing, even anxious, should he find them so, to have the discoveries of tomorrow set aside every known and accepted theory of yesterday. Thus, the scientific prophets of progress have triumphantly advanced, achieving feats which the wisest of a few decades ago would have pronounced im-

possible, had they been predicted through some "wild imagination."

In the even more real and vastly more important spheres of psychological and spiritual life, there has been no such progress. Scientists in these fields are hindered on every hand by pronouncements of the past, which their advocates loudly and fanatically proclaim to be unalterably fixed for all time. This is largely true in government, religion and social relationships; and, because certain ideas prevailed fifty years ago, or one hundred years ago, or two hundred and fifty years ago, there are those who vehemently protest against any changing of those ideas or any substitute for those practices. Should these same attitudes have prevailed with reference to new discoveries and achievements in material science, the people would still be travelling in covered wagons, and the world would be lighted at night by kerosene lamps.

In nothing does this sort of ignorance and prejudice so effectually retard progress, as in the analysis and adjustment of the so-called race question. Just because Negroes were enslaved by our forefathers, and just because Negroes have been compelled to occupy menial positions

since they were "set free," there are millions of splendid white people in our country, otherwise delightful, and on all other subjects entirely reasonable, who throw up their hands in holy horror and are ready to have conniption fits at the very suggestion of even thinking of a Negro as being really human, and entitled to the full recognition and rights of American citizenship.

Therefore, in the eyes of such people, to define the Negro in America is a most difficult task. In their judgment he is no more and no less than a black person, or any other person the color of whose skin is in the slightest degree tinged by a negroid mixture of the blood. And, beyond this fact, in the minds of these people there is no other definition of a Negro. The colored skin is all, means all, and excludes from their vision everything else, regardless of its value.

Long time and unlimited patience are essential to the full solution of this color problem. And above all, it is essential, first, for the public mind to arrive at a true sense of human values. To do this, it is absolutely necessary to know the nature of the individual or the group of individuals, the value of whom we are endeav-

oring to establish. The true value of the Negro in this country, both in his individual and related capacity, must determine whether he is an asset or a liability to the nation.

In determining the nature of anything, the question of origin is important. From what original source did it spring, and by what influences has it been affected along the line of progress, from its origin until the present time?

The question of human origin is remote and difficult. An exhaustive discussion of it would require a life-time of research and labor. Even to set forth the discovered facts and the outstanding theories of scholars and thinkers who have devoted themselves to the subject, would be no small task. There are, of course, two schools, one holding to the theories and deductions of science; and the other clinging to the dogmatic statements of the Bible. The one is a school of thought, based upon continued scientific research. The other is a school of blind acceptance, clinging to the Biblical record of creation, without reason or question. The one reads the records of the material universe, which indicate that the life of human beings on the earth antedates the Biblical record by multi-

thousands of years. The other accepts the Bible statements, that within a period of six days God created this world and all that it inhabit.

However, in the limited space available in this unpretentious volume, our purpose is well served by confining ourselves to the reasonably well known facts of fairly authentic history, wherein there is no conflict between the two schools above mentioned. We might begin with that period of history in which an individual by the name of Noah, figured most prominently. We may, or may not, accept literally the story of the flood, in which all living creatures, save Noah and his family, and the animals which took refuge in the ark, are said to have been destroyed. It is difficult to believe such a thing actually occurred, but on the other hand, it is reasonable to accept the substance of the record, that out of a catastrophe occurring in that period, a powerful family in the persons of Noah and his sons emerged. It is also reasonable to believe their descendants afterward dominated the thought and life of the world. It does no violence to relative truth and sound reasoning, to believe that Noah actually had three sons, named Shem, Ham and Japheth.

Shem was the main trunk of the family tree, whose branches spread out, and from which grew the human fruitage of the Semitic race. While we are not here concerned with that powerful human group, it is well to observe that it gave to the world the Semitic languages, heavy with the wisdom, philosophy and sacred lore of great and mighty peoples. Shem was the eldest son of Noah and the ancestor of Abraham, who was the eighth in descent from him, according to the genealogies in the book of Genesis. Abraham was the world's first great adventurer, the father of a people destined to increase until they became as numberless as the sands by the sea. He was the father of the Jews, who in due course lost their own land, and like chaff before the wind, were mercilessly driven and scattered over the face of the earth. But until this day they survive, and the sons of Shem are still powerful in the thought and affairs of the world.

Some of the Semitic languages, particularly those of the South, are still in extensive use. The outstanding one is the Arabic, which is divided into four dialects of Arabia, Syria, Egypt, and Barbary. To this branch also belong the

Himyaritic, once spoken in part of Arabia, the Ethiopic, which was the ancient ecclesiastical language of Abyssinia, and the Amharic and other modern dialects of the same country. However, the original northern section of the Semitic languages long since passed out of general use. To that section belong the ancient dialects of Assyria and Babylonia; the Hebrew, with the Samaritan and Moabitic; the Phoenician and Carthaginian; and lastly the Aramaic, which includes the Chaldee and the Syriac. All of these languages are now practically extinct as spoken tongues, but the Hebrew is to some extent still used in writing.

Ham was the second son of Noah. He had four sons—Cush, Mizraim, Phut, and Canaan —from the first three of whom, we are told, the tribes that peopled the African continent originally sprung, and that Canaan was the father of the tribes which originally occupied the territory of Phoenicia and Palestine.

Whether providential or accidental, the tribes occupying various sections south of Egypt in the vast continent of Africa, were for long centuries, practically shut off from the so-called civilized world. They came to live, as it were, a life al-

most upon a plane with the beasts of the jungle. The tropical climate rendered unnecessary any clothing for the body. So far as comfort went, clothes were a burden. Natural, luxuriant vegetation, streams abounding with fish, and inexhaustible game in the fields and jungles, provided abundant food ready at hand for the taking. Their environment offered no incentive to thought of the future. It was unnecessary for them to sow or reap, or gather into barns—there was no occasion for them to toil, nor to spin. Through the boundless riches of nature, the Heavenly Father had provided for them, but they were unconscious of the fact. They utilized for their existence whatever they found at hand, with never an upward vision.

Naturally, in such circumstances, mental deterioration was inevitable. The social inclination, common to all people everywhere, separated them into tribes and bound them together in a low order of communities of interest. And that same tendency of human nature, which leads "civilized" nations to war, kept alive the belligerent spirit among the African tribes, and there was constant physical conflict between them. And so through the centuries, those de-

scendants of Ham, lived and multiplied in the heart of Africa.

It is quite ridiculous for us to assume, as some have done, that there was any marked physiological difference between the three sons of Noah. Some have fancied that Shem was a red man, that Ham was black, and that Japheth was white, but it is only fancy.

According to Genesis, 10:5, the sons of Japheth peopled the "Isles of the Gentiles," and are considered the ancestors of most European races. Therefore, in modern slang, in the scattering of the tribes descending from the sons of Noah, those which sprang from Ham happened to get a "bad break" when they drifted into the land we call Africa.

It is most interesting to note the far-reaching effects of the scattering of those descendants of Noah upon the human race as a whole. With practically the same natural heritage from their forefathers, those tribes went out, as it were, not knowing whither they were going. The sons of Shem drifted northward and eastward; the sons of Ham southward and westward; the sons of Japheth lingered around the Mediterranean and occupied central Europe. Climatic condi-

tions, together with the demands of nature, developed them into what they afterwards became.

Being here concerned particularly, with the descendants of Ham, it is worth while to note the inevitable consequences of central African conditions upon any branch of the human family. It is perfectly safe to aver, that if today we were to select the choicest modern flower and fruitage of the human family, and set them down in the heart of Africa, and for some thousands of years shut them off entirely from the outside world, they would physically and mentally deteriorate into just what the African Negroes were when the slave-traders began to capture and transport them to America. By constant exposure to the burning African sun, the skins of those ancient Hamites became black. That was inevitable. In that way, and in that alone, is the "color" of the Negro accounted for. The contour of the negroid face, and the general physical makeup characteristic of so many original Africans, were due entirely to the utter absence of all civilizing influences, and to the fact that naturally they lived upon a plane not far above that of the animal.

The sons of Shem drifted northward and east-

ward from the ancient seat of the human family, but in countries like India and in some of the islands, they found also the tropical climate which darkened their skin. In India, through all the years, there have been those as black of skin as any people in the heart of Africa. But refinement of features was preserved and developed, because the intellectual and civilizing influences of life were not absent from the people of India, and in a large measure of China, and of many of the islands adjacent thereto. Therefore, while the skin of millions of those people was and is black, they were and are not otherwise different from the best types of white folk.

The sons of Japheth in central and northern Europe, met with climatic conditions more conducive to development of the white skin and the refinement of features. But even in Europe, we find in the extreme South, the very dark complexion, in many instances, almost negroid; and in the far northern Scandinavian countries, the very fair complexion with light hair and blue eyes. In this way, and in this alone, all color distinctions of the kindreds, tongues, and tribes of the earth are accounted for. And, in

the minds of all clear-thinking and fair-minded people, no blame whatsoever can be attached to any individual because of the color of his skin, for in no sense is the individual responsible.

It is not fair however, to assume that prior to the losing of the Negro race, as it were, in the heart of Africa, that no descendants of Ham figured prominently in the affairs of humanity. Their shortcomings in any period of history were due to external conditions, and not to mental incapacity. They attained their highest development in Ethiopia. Some of them were scattered, in some places thinly, of course, all over the then known world. Another of the great divisions of language, the Hamitic, attributed to this race, became rich in treasure of thought and expression.

The sons and daughters of Ham became a mighty power in the days of the Egyptian dynasties. An Ethiopian conqueror from the Upper Nile founded the XXVth Dynasty, which was overthrown by Esarhaddon in the year 680 B.C. The very fact that in Ethiopia there was a colored conqueror of sufficient strength and enough force behind him to overrun Egypt and found a foreign dynasty, is evi-

dence that at the time they were a mighty people.

Not only did they have great leaders among the men, but also among the women. There were some whose beauty is talked of until this day. Scholars generally concede that the Queen of Sheba who visited King Solomon and captivated him with her personal beauty and her lavish gifts, was a Negress. Since that event the name and fame of the regal black beauty have remained undimmed. It is also interesting to know that mixing of the bloods of famous black and white people is not confined to modern history in America, but much of it took place in the early days when civilization was being rocked in the cradle. Moses, the Deliverer—Moses of unparalleled fame as a leader and law-giver, to whom it is claimed God thundered the Ten Commandments on the Heights of Sinai, married a Negress, the black daughter of Jethro. Jezebel, a very wicked woman, according to the Scriptures, the wife of Ahab, King of Israel, was the colored daughter of Ethball, the Negro King of Zidoma. The eunuch whose baptism by Philip is recorded in

the New Testament, was from Ethiopia and unquestionably a Negro.

Those who are informed, or who will take the time to inform themselves, will find that from the scattered remnants of the sons of Ham, who did not follow the main body of the tribes into the heart of Africa, many geniuses arose from time to time in various parts of the world. For instance, about 550 A.D., there was Antara ben Shedad el Absi, "Antar the Lion," who was born of an Arab noble father, and an Abyssinian slave mother. He became a famous personage in Arabic and Mohammedan literature. Also, he was a great warrior. It is claimed that he was the father of knighthood. "The Romance of Antar" ranks as a great national classic. Another Negro who became famous in literature was Juan Latino, born in northern Africa about the XVth Century. He was captured by Spanish traders and sold to the family of Gonzalo de Cordova at Seville. Under the tutelage of his young master he became learned. He was set free and became a professor of Latin and Greek at the University of Granada. His remains lie in the Church of St. Anne, at Granada, and

upon his tomb is the inscription: "Juan was an excellent Latin poet."

Pushkin, of mixed Negro blood from a paternal ancestor, was the most renowned poet Russia ever produced. The two Dumas—Alexander *Père* and Alexander *Fils,* of France, with negroid mixture, were easily among the first of the world's modern fiction authors.

And so, in various parts of the world, hundreds of other men and women of color have attained distinguished positions in the thought and progress of the human family. And, in view of these facts it is perfectly logical to believe that had not the main body of the descendants of Ham drifted into the hot climate of Central Africa, and had they not been completely isolated from all the civilizing forces of humanity through the long centuries before the European nations put Africa upon the map by their divisions and possessions of the Dark Continent, the people called Negroes would not have been any darker, nor would they have become less intelligent than the descendants of Shem and Japheth.

Thus, in a brief, but we trust, comprehensive way, the origin of the Negro is set forth. This

survey brings us to the Negro as he was found, and accounts for him as he was, when those of various tribes were brought to America in slavery, in the early colonial days.

The second and all-important period of Negro history, as it concerns us in endeavoring to define the Negro in America, begins with his induction into American slavery.

There is however, nothing to be gained by entering into a discussion of the causes and facts of Negro slavery in America. It was a very bad piece of business. It can never be condoned, nor can it reflect any credit upon those who engaged in it. It was a terrible sore that ate into the heart and vitals of our body politic, and had it not been eradicated, root and branch, eventually would have destroyed the nation. In due course, with the unfolding of the divine purpose in the progress of civilization, slavery in America had to pass. While the sore is almost entirely healed, it has left a scar on the body of the Republic that will not disappear until after the passing of many more generations. And, looking to its ultimate removal it is best that the sons and daughters of the slaveholders, and the sons and daughters of the

slaves themselves, forget it as soon as possible.

Viewing the Negro in America as he actually is today, we find him physically and mentally as widely different from the original Africans of three or four centuries ago, as daylight is from darkness. Even the minority of American Negroes whose skin is black, are much changed in cranial formation and facial contour from their benighted ancestors. It is nothing short of marvelous, that a few generations of contact with open civilization, even though most of it was spent in slavery, worked such a remarkable change in these respects.

While some have claimed that "pure blood" Negroes are not capable of being highly educated, and cannot attain the heights of great mental achievement, this theory has been completely set aside by fact. Without mentioning his name, one of the outstanding men of this nation today, ranking as an intellectual giant of high moral and Christian character, and a recognized leader is a Negro of unmixed African blood. Multi-thousands of white people in America and in other lands, should they read this, will immediately know to whom I refer. He is not the only outstanding Negro leader,

independent of race, easily ranking among the foremost men of this day and generation. There are hosts of others likewise of pure African blood, as good and as great as the man to whom I have just referred. Many of them are exceedingly prominent, and the fact that they are perhaps not so well known to the world at large, is due entirely to the force of circumstances not so propitious for the propagation of their fame.

A large majority of so-called Negroes in America, however, as has already been observed, are not black. They are not pure white, but they are more white than black. And, for the present and no doubt for a number of generations to come, such will still be classified as Negroes.

Physically, mentally and morally, in the minds of the unprejudiced, they will compare favorably as a whole with the entire body of our American population. Could we but sufficiently stretch our imagination and allow it to play without prejudice, a careful observation of the various shades of our colored population would immediately convince us that if they were all pure white they would be quite as "good-looking" as are our white people. In making

some such observations, this writer not long ago walked through the streets of Harlem in New York City, and arrived at the above conclusion. Later, the same day he came down-town into the crowded section of Seventh Avenue and stood on a corner, carefully scrutinizing the features of the white people who passed during the crowded hour. This same imagination convinced him that a very great many of the white people he saw would be "ugly" Negroes, were they black—much more homely than the average colored man or woman in America today.

Whether we have desired it or not, and whether we approve of its continuation in the future, the fact remains that as a result of the inevitable law of proximity, within a few generations, in America the Negro race has been turning, and by the same law, must continue to turn white. Human prejudices and human desires cannot obstruct nor turn aside the laws of nature. These same laws apply to the physical products of human life, just as they do in vegetable life. In plant life, as we see it in the cultivation and development of vegetables, fruits and flowers, when propagated in close proximity, there is a blending and usually an

improvement over the original. The late Luther Burbank, one of our modern scientific wizards, unquestionably demonstrated the truth of the above statement. Likewise, as all human beings are of the same species, it is a physical impossibility for them to propagate and grow in close proximity without blending. Notwithstanding religious teaching, social barriers, race prejudice, legal prohibition, etc., to the contrary, they have blended and they will continue to blend.

And, still beyond the inevitable results of unavoidable inter-breeding, there follows another inexorable law of nature, viz., the influence of climate upon the color of human beings. It is a scientific fact that the pure black characterizing the skin of the natives in tropical Africa and southern India, cannot for very many centuries show on the skin of successive generations of inhabitants in a temperate climate. Therefore, it is only a question of some more generations through some more centuries, when nature, through the inevitable working of the laws of human proximity, and through temperate and colder climates, will eventually obliterate the line of demarcation between the so-called white

and black races in the United States of America, and there will no longer be a race problem growing out of the question of color.

However, it is impossible for us with any degree of accuracy to forecast what will be the "civilization" of those generations yet unborn. What their government, their religion, their social practices, their commerce and the international relations of the world are then to be, remains for them alone to realize. We are concerned only with the present, and with the source of heritage in thought, and in all other civilizing forces we are going to leave, to either bless or curse those to come after us. These things constitute our problems, and the manner in which we solve them and dispose of them must determine whether we are living up to our opportunities, and are worthy of the responsibilities that rest upon us.

To the query, "What is the Negro in America today?", there are three answers: First, what he is physically; second, what he is mentally; third, what he is morally.

A definition of the physical "Negro" in America, from the viewpoint of scientific analysis, is quite impossible, because the term itself

as generally applied, is inconsistent, if not meaningless. This is so because of the fact, regardless of whether an individual be purely of African origin or whether having only the slightest strain of African blood in his veins, he is considered a Negro. It is therefore impossible to make a scientific analysis of a physical organism, when society falsely classifies a pure black and an almost pure white as being the same.

In a general sense, however, even though statistics show Americans classified as Negroes to have been physically weak in infancy, as compared with the white race, the general average of physical form and bodily strength is greater among adult colored people than it is among the pure whites. This may be accounted for from two reasons, viz., that blended bloods usually produce finer physical form and greater physical strength than is seen among the unmixed races; and secondly, because the average colored person, from necessity, does more physical work than the average white person. Exercise develops bodily strength, and as a majority of Negroes must work or starve, they have the advantage of enforced exercise, much of which,

particularly in the South, is in the open air. The large percentage of infantile mortality and the unusual susceptibility of Negroes to tuberculosis, for instance, has been due to bad housing, poor sanitary conditions, improper nourishment, etc. Also, enforced segregation, lack of education, resultant poverty and the like, for which the white population has been largely responsible, have contributed to the physical delinquency of Negroes.

But with the new emancipation of the Negro, in which the rising generation is properly educated, living conditions improved, economic opportunity increased, with their sociological horizon constantly widening, infantile mortality and racial susceptibility to ravaging disease is rapidly disappearing, and the mixed breed known as Negroes is destined to physically outstrip either the pure blacks or the pure whites.

To define the Negro of today, mentally, is a more difficult task than to analyze him physically. Doctor Moton has recently written a remarkable book entitled "What the Negro Thinks." Probably no other man in our country is as capable of telling us what the Negro thinks as is Doctor Moton, but even he is not

equal to that exacting and gigantic task. No individual knows what any other individual thinks. In fact, no really thinking individual is able today to tell you what he may think tomorrow.

However, "As a man thinketh in his heart, so is he," and as all action is the direct result of thought, it is possible, judging from the trend of an individual's life and from the general trend of activity on the part of a racial group, to judge in a measure what that individual or that group has been thinking. It is in this sense that Doctor Motòn has given us a great treatise on the mental status of the group known as Negroes. At this point it is safe to assert, as we shall endeavor to prove later in this work, that in the various phases of mental vigor and constructive thought the Negro of today compares favorably, and in some respects mentally surpasses the white man. By this I do not mean to say that his mental achievements so far, compare favorably with those of the white man, but that in view of his enforced handicaps, his lack of cultural background, and with his limited outlook for the future, he has achieved far be-

yond what might be expected of a white group in similar circumstances.

Morally speaking, the Negro of today takes front rank in sustaining the highest standards and loftiest ideals of our so-called Christian civilization. And this, despite the fact that white people have not set a high standard of morals for the Negro to live up to, and have not really expected him to be "moral" in his conduct. For instance, in the past generation in the South, it was generally understood that Negroes naturally were given to petty thievery. A "popular" song in the old days ran something like this:

> Some folks say a Nigger won't steal,
> Way down youder in the corn field;
> But I caught one in my corn field—
> Way down yonder in the corn field.

It was just naturally expected that the Negro man working on the plantation, and the Negro cooks about the house would "take things." They were not really blamed and not often censured for taking things, because the white people understood that Negroes felt it within their moral and religious province to take whatever they could get away with, considering that

because their forefathers had been enslaved by the whites, they (the Negroes) were justified in getting everything they could from them.

Also, because in the days of slavery the lustful passions of white men led them to prostitute Negro women for the gratification of their beastly tendencies, and because it was next to impossible for the Negro woman to refuse, the idea generally obtained, after slavery, that the females of the Negro race were really unmoral, in that they had a limited conception of "morality" in the sense in which white people regarded the term. Therefore, it was with these tremendous handicaps that Negroes had to establish for themselves high standards of honesty and of moral conduct.

How well they have succeeded within a period of a little more than fifty years, is attested by the fact that honesty and morality among the Negroes today are quite as general as they are among white people.

It is true, of course, that there is no human being lower in the scale of brutal conduct than the depraved Negro who so far loses his self-control, that he will attack a white woman, knowing that death will be his penalty either at

the hands of a mad mob or by decree of the courts. But such cases are the rare exceptions, and in ratio of the population are no oftener committed than is done by white men, equally as brutal.

After all, people are people, and a careful study of the facts will reveal that color has nothing to do with honesty or morality. There are Negroes just as mean, as dishonest, as low down, as treacherous, as any white men could possibly be—not because they are Negroes, but because they are human beings. It will be a much happier day for our country as a whole, when both racial groups seriously take up the subject of studying each other, of knowing everything they possibly may discover about each other, but all the while looking for the good as well as for the bad in each other. When this is done, a more thorough understanding of the racial groups will be arrived at, and naturally a fuller cooperation will result. This one-tenth of our national population is a very vital and a very essential element to the future happiness and prosperity of our country. The sooner white people understand this, the better it will be for everybody concerned.

CHAPTER IV

APPRAISEMENT OF THE NEGRO

WHETHER we have, or have not a comprehensive grasp of what our nation is today, and of what the Negro is, in our country, we cannot reach a just decision with regard to the Negro's being an asset or a liability to the nation, without making a fair appraisal of his worth. This has not yet been adequately done, nor does this writer presume to be able to do it now. At best he can only hope to offer some hints and clues which may be of help to those really interested in the subject, should they endeavor to make the appraisal themselves. All serious students of our sociological problems will agree that it is high time definite appraisement of this important group of our population be made.

Heretofore, discussion and expressed opinion of the Negro by white people has taken the form of generalization, rather than that of detailed analysis, critical appraisement and actual

recognition. It has been necessary to await this age of high moral courage before the latter could be expressed. Not until now has the Caucasian had the courage to openly declare what hitherto he has known as a fact. This is the first and only peculiar day that has actually challenged the courage and sincerity of our civilization. The day is here when we must either admit or deny that the Negro belongs to the saving agencies of our time. Today the Negro looms larger on our national horizon than at any other time since he was the bone of contention in a great war. He has arrived at a point and has made for himself a place in the life and affairs of our country which must determine whether in the future he is to be a medicine or a menace, an asset or a liability to the nation.

In appraising the worth of an individual or of a group of individuals, we at once face the necessity of drawing the distinction between the value of what a man is, and of what he has. It is comparatively easy to appraise the value of a sheep, or a hog, or a cow, but it is a more difficult thing to determine the value of a human being. The Man of Galilee, greatest of

all teachers, raised the question as to the difference between the value of a man and a sheep. Of course, his conclusion was that a man is worth much more than a sheep. But as a rule, when we ask the question "What is he worth?", we mean only how much property or how much money does he possess. By general acceptance the individual who has no material possession is a pauper; but on the other hand, of a truth, while he may not be worth a dollar as material things go, he may be very rich and incalculably valuable in qualities of mind and heart.

If America has made, and is still making a fatal mistake, it is that of placing material values above human values. Should this nation go, as others before it have gone, and in its passing contribute its part to the dust of Empire which overspreads the earth in the wake of departed governments, it will be for this very reason.

Nations that endure are founded upon the qualities of sterling manhood, rather than upon material wealth. The same qualities that constitute firm national foundations, are essential to the superstructure and the permanent endurance of the nation. That these qualities which

characterized the beginnings of our government have greatly deteriorated, there is no question. And, that a revival of such qualities is essential to the future perpetuity of this government, there is no question. Therefore, not only in the appraisement of the Negro as a vital element of our population, but also in the appraisal of our entire national assets, so far as the human equation is concerned, it is high time that we halt and take strict account of ourselves.

While the colored population of the United States within a little more than a half century of so-called freedom, has accumulated material wealth far beyond what might reasonably have been expected of it, this wealth is insignificant as compared with that of the other nine-tenths of the population comprising the white group. Likewise, while the colored group unquestionably provides very much more than one-tenth of the physical energy devoted to manual labor for the sustenance of the nation, that energy is small as compared with that being constantly utilized through the vast enginery of our age of machinery. Yet, a just appraisal of the Negro's material worth and of the physical energy he constantly supplies for the country at large, em-

phatically places him among the lists of assets, far removed from any sort of liability.

It is when we come to consider the human equation however, that the appraisal becomes difficult, because we are so engrossed with material things that we are not accustomed to evaluations which cannot be estimated in dollars and cents. The difficulty is increased, because an individual or a group are not supposed to appraise themselves. Any estimate that the colored group might make of itself and announce to the world, even though it be entirely correct, would not be accepted at face value by the rest of the population. Therefore, when a correct appraisement of the colored group is made, it must be done by the white group if it is to be accepted by the nation at large. Hitherto, despite all that has been thought and written, and said about Negroes by white people, anything like a comprehensive and adequate knowledge of the Negro and his status, remains absent from the mind of the masses.

This is because the white population has not considered the Negro population of sufficient importance to be seriously thought of as a vital factor in the affairs of the nation. In truth, the

group known as Negroes, has been considered so inferior to the larger white group that in a sense they have merely been tolerated, with the white people expecting only four things of them, viz., the labor of their hands, tax revenue from their property, that they bear arms in time of war, and wherever and whenever permitted, their votes on election day.

Thinking Negroes justly complain that a "popular" song of some years back entitled "All Coons Look Alike to Me," interprets the attitude of white people generally toward Negroes as a whole. Without considering that God is the Author of us all, many people think the colored families of the earth are a mistake. Following the same bent, were such people to paint a picture, they would make it all one color, although it would be the most uninteresting kind of picture one could conceive of. But such a narrow view of life and human relations lead such people to consider those who are different from them, particularly in color, to be unimportant and unnecessary in the general scheme of things. But to the broader mind, the matter of color does not render the supposedly superior

one, indifferent or antagonistic to the supposedly inferior one.

After all, the important thing is the way in which we consider or approach the Negro, if indeed we consider or approach him at all. A distinguished friend of mine told me of having visited a large dairy farm near the City of New York, where the finest of Jersey cows are bred. "Over the door that leads to the bulls," he said, "there is this sentence: 'Always approach a bull as though you were approaching a gentleman.' The manager of that dairy explained to me why that sentence is there—that when a bull is first taken from the train it takes four or five men to get him to his proper place, but by approaching him in a friendly manner one person could take any bull where he pleased without danger."

Without meaning to compare either a Negro or a white man with a bull, it is likewise true that no individual can handle another individual successfully except through friendly approach. The question of race relations has so long remained a difficult one, because of the antagonistic attitude of both races toward each other. Where there has not been antagonism, as a rule there has been total indifference.

Friendly approach and sympathetic cooperation in an effort to reach a common point of understanding and agreement, has been the exception to the rule.

Because society is very much like a finely constructed watch, in which there is complete and balanced cooperation, it can never arrive at the ideal stage until all people realize that they were made for one another, and must live in an atmosphere of appreciation of one another. This is the only road to peace and progress, and it is so sparsely travelled that there is little danger of any traffic jam.

The first step toward friendly cooperation between individuals or racial groups, is to know each other; and the second step is that they have a common objective. In this respect, Negroes in this country are far ahead of the white people. As Doctor Moton has clearly brought out in his book, "What the Negro Thinks," Negroes know white people much better than white people know Negroes. From the days of slavery up to now, the Negro has always been willing, even anxious to learn from the white man. He has always recognized the superior knowledge and attainments of the white man;

he has observed the white man carefully, and in all the ways of cultural progress has endeavored to imitate him. Even in the days of slavery, he had free approach and close contact with the white people and unconsciously absorbed much of the fine culture from the ante-bellum aristocracy of the old South. The fact is, old-time slaves became very proud of their aristocratic "white folks," even to the extent that they looked down upon and scorned what they called the "poor white trash" of the South. A Negro slave woman would not allow her children to associate with the ignorant white children of their day. And no people were better judges of, nor were quicker to discern class and culture among white people, than were the Negroes in the South at that time. And until this day, by heritage, tradition and keen sociological perception, the descendants of those southern Negroes are perhaps the finest judges of "quality" among white people, that we have in our land.

Not only during the days of slavery, but ever since that time, from close contact with them, the colored people have increased their knowledge of white people, even though that contact

has largely been in the capacity of servants and inferiors. They have worked in the homes of white people. On the highways and in the by-ways they have closely observed and carefully scrutinized all the mannerisms, movements, practices and customs of the white population. And, particularly in latter years they have read the white man's newspapers, magazines and books. They have listened to what he has broadcast over the radio. Their reception is remarkable, their perception keen, and their susceptibility to all manner of outside influences is such that impressions of even the slightest nature remain indelibly stamped upon their memories, and are never eradicated from their subconscious minds.

Therefore, as indicated above, the Negro has not failed to take advantage of his opportunities to study and understand the white man. But white people as a class, with of course here and there brilliant exceptions, have not studied the Negro. There has been little occasion for white people to go into the segregated districts, into the cabins and the better homes of the colored people. White folk know very little of the home and family life of the Negro population.

They have not read nor do they read Negro newspapers, and with exception of a comparatively few books in Negro vernacular, written by the late Joel Chandler Harris and others, they are unacquainted with Negro literature. The white man has gotten his impression of the Negro from distorted representations of what the Negro thinks, of what he says and of what he does. He thinks he knows the type of good natured, honest, industrious, capable Negro, such as is "Amos." He also thinks he knows the other type of ignorant, egotistical, presumptuous, overbearing and unbearable Negro, which is "Andy." But the real, modern, intelligent, industrious, high-minded, educated and cultured type of Negro, of which there are multi-thousands in this land, the masses of our white population know not at all, and when they are told that there are such, do not believe what they hear.

But now, by the very force of circumstances, by the inevitable right of commanding position, by the economic demands of national progress, the Negro population is so large in numbers, and so vital to every phase of our country's future welfare, that the white man has got to

take the Negro seriously into account, appraise him for his real worth and give full credit for all his values, both materially and mentally.

Nothing short of the friendly and thoroughly scientific approach and procedure, can accomplish this most important task. This appraisal will not go from the one extreme of looking alone at the bad in the Negro, to a consideration of only the good that may be found in him, but must take full account of both the good and the bad. His strong points and his weak points must be balanced against each other, for only by so doing can the general average of his real worth be ascertained. And this appraisal must also include his potentialities for the future, because after all it is only for the future that we really live. The present is important, only as we make use of it in preparing for that which is to follow, and were there no future either in this life or in the life to come, the present would not hold any problem worthy of an effort to solve.

There is not much the Negro himself can do toward helping to solve the so-called race problem, except to patiently bide the time and wait for the white man to catch up with him in the matter of interracial knowledge. When the

white man knows the Negro in America as well as the Negro now knows the white man, it will not be difficult for them to appraise each other and strike a common balance of human weaknesses and human excellences, upon which they can all fully agree.

It is a very sad thing to realize that the "great minds" of our nation, particularly in the sphere of government, are concerned almost entirely with material things, such as tariffs, various kinds of "reliefs" for different sectional groups of citizens, the "experiment" of prohibition, and multitudinous other things, all of which seem to have their center and circumference in material wealth, and in that alone. Business—big business and little business, with everybody in a mad scramble to get money, and a large percentage devoting their time and overtaxing their brains to get something for nothing, are sure signs of an internal national decay far more dangerous than any wars, or rumors of wars can ever be.

Unless there is a nation-wide movement to produce a finer, nobler type of men and women, rather than to accumulate still greater wealth, the collapse of our government is not far away.

The art and science of the making of men and women is more important than that of the making of all inventions and devices that material science can ever produce. A statesman who is incapable of profoundly considering the human equations of a nation, is unworthy of the name. In America we have a conglomerated mass of men and women, representing every known strain of human blood; and to understand, appraise, harmonize and harmoniously adjust all of these more or less conflicting elements, is the supreme task of this hour. With this unaccomplished, we can but speed on to national destruction.

The first big and essential task in this adjustment, is for the white man to understand the Negro, appraise him, appreciate him, help him, and allow him to take his place as a free, effective and helpful citizen of the Republic.

CHAPTER V

THE NEGRO AND NATIONAL ECONOMICS

IN DETERMINING whether the Negro is an asset or a liability from the economic point of view, it is necessary to consider the colored group as a unit, in its relation to the nation as a whole. The question of economics is usually considered only with reference to material resources, the utilization of labor through both manpower and machinery, and the handling of resultant products of labor. This involves, of course, individual, corporate, and national use of the medium representing material values, which we call money. But in its most comprehensive sense, national economy contemplates very much more than material assets and the increase thereof. It includes the greater wealth of human character combining the power of constructive thought, the question of human rights, high moral courage and patriotic cooperation, all of which are essential to the progress and safety of a nation. This

comprehends the entire body of a nation's citizenship.

Any group of citizens containing approximately one-tenth of the entire population is important, even in comparative numbers. This is particularly true of the colored group, because as we have already observed, it provides more than one-tenth of the actual physical labor of the nation. Negroes were of great economic value to their owners, and indirectly, to the nation, when they were slaves. In the minds of their masters, the whole object of their existence in the days of slavery, was to render physical service. In this sense they were on a par with the beasts of burden. So great was their economic value, that their liberation marked the passing of the material fortunes of a large majority of the old-time southern aristocrats. Not only did the white slave-owners lose a large part of their material possession when the slaves were set free, but their lands were stripped by the ravages of war; and, while they were left in possession of their broad acres, they were "land poor" because they no longer possessed the implements and live stock essential to agriculture, and no longer was available the free labor of

their former slaves. The white landowners themselves, both men and women, were unaccustomed to physical toil, and found that they were practically helpless to even approximate the grandeur of their former method of living.

Likewise, the liberated slaves found themselves even in a sadder predicament, for without property, without any previous training in the art of self-preservation, and without friends, mere existence was a difficult thing. In slavery they had no such problems, for as a matter of practical economy their masters saw to it that they were comfortably housed and clothed, and that they had plenty of wholesome food. This was necessary because they were "valuable property," and their owners could not afford to expose them to diseases resultant from improper care. Adequate nourishment was essential to the maintenance of physical strength, that they might do their best work. Therefore, both the white people and the colored people in the South, were face to face with a situation in which a certain kind of cooperation was necessary to both groups. It was perfectly natural that the free Negroes received the scantiest remuneration for their work, because in the first

place, the white people had little with which to pay them, and the colored people were so helpless and defenseless that they had to accept whatever they could get, in order to live at all.

Thus began what has been set down in American history as the period of "reconstruction" in the South, following the Civil War. And let it be said here, that regardless of the individual attitude of southerners, or of white Americans in other sections of the country with regard to the question of color, the rapid, almost miraculous reconstruction and rehabilitation of the South, would have been impossible without the cheap Negro labor that was available at the hands of the liberated slaves. And, from that time until now, the South with all its beauty and glory has thrived from the comparatively cheap, but most effective toil of the colored population. And today, perhaps the most serious economic problem of the South is that of holding the Negroes within her borders, for they and they alone, know how to do the work upon which southern prosperity so much depends.

The principal products of the southern soil, such as cotton, corn, fruit, sugarcane, peanuts,

potatoes, etc., seem to respond to the friendly toil of colored hands, as they would not do to that of any others. Our "foreign labor" by Italians, and other groups from abroad, is supreme in the construction of railroads, in all manner of building in the cities, in mills, factories and foundries, but no other class of people in the world is so much at home in the cultivation of southern soil, as is the colored group.

Therefore, economically speaking, Negroes are not only an asset but a practical necessity in the South.

The time has come, however, when the old régime of exploiting Negro laborers just because they are Negroes, can no longer endure. With the mental development of the present generation of Negroes, with their perfectly legitimate desire for the human necessities and comforts of life, with their laudable aspiration to become recognized and useful citizens of the community, state and nation, they will not, nor should they be expected to longer submit to the old order of things. No longer can their white employers consider it unnecessary that they have anything beyond a crude cabin in which to live, the coarsest food to eat, and rags to cover their

backs. Negroes have become more than mere physical organisms to do physical work, and have taken their place as a human equation in our national economy.

As an economic measure, the Negro demands nothing materially or socially, that he has not earned, or to which he is not clearly entitled. He does not feel himself in any sense "above work." Indeed the great "school of thought" and system of practice, first effectively promulgated by the late Booker T. Washington, and so splendidly carried on by Doctor Washington's successor, Doctor Robert R. Moton, and many other colored leaders, is founded upon the basic principle that while "common labor" is honorable, intelligent labor is more effective. And as a result of the practical inculcation of this thought, the two outstanding Negro institutions of education, Hampton Institute and Tuskegee Institute, along with many lesser schools of like character, have wrought the most marvelous transformation known to the modern history of mental and manual training.

Some time ago, it was the privilege of this writer to spend a week at Tuskegee Institute and deliver some lectures before the Summer

Normal School for teachers, which is annually held at that place. One day in conversation with the late Professor E. P. Roberts, Dean of the Academic Department of Tuskegee, I was greatly impressed with one thing he told me. In effect, he said: "The most significant thing we observe at this Institute, is the rapid transformation of many of the students who come here. Many of them have had but little previous training. They are awkward, gawky, slow of movement, and sluggish of mind. They have been led to believe that Tuskegee will help them to better their condition. Our first object is to straighten them up physically. That is why we have the military system of training. They are carefully drilled. We teach them how to stand erect, we put snap into their movement, and train them to walk with military precision. It is not long until they have a new conception of themselves, and of course, much greater respect for themselves. It is nothing short of a revelation to see how rapidly they are transformed from indolence and indifference, into mental and physical alertness. Along with that, they of course learn how to work with their hands, and become skilled in the various trades and

vocations in which they are trained at this school. Academic learning is naturally much easier, when obtained in conjunction with physical training."

This spirit of self-improvement and the resultant self-respect, emanating from such schools as Tuskegee and Hampton, have permeated the whole thought and life of the colored people not only in the South, but all over the nation, and has fitted them for honest, intelligent, useful and most effective citizenship. The students of Tuskegee and Hampton become fit examples for numbers of their own race in whatever community they take up their permanent abode. And not only this, but the fundamental physical and intellectual culture imparted to the students of these normal and industrial schools, beget in the minds of many of them a desire for higher education. Many of them go to Negro Universities such as Fisk, Atlanta, Virginia Union, Howard, and others. And even beyond that, colored students have been conspicuous for their scholastic records and brilliant achievements in many white institutions of higher learning, such as Oberlin, Yale and others.

This educational development that has not

only transformed thousands of individual Negroes, has also lifted the general average of Negro intelligence many notches in the scale of mental and moral excellency. It has proven the very reverse of what some narrow minded white people have vulgarly claimed, viz., that "When you educate a Nigger, you ruin him." The fact is that people who think and make such statements, do not know the meaning of the term "education." It is not an impartation of knowledge, but rather a development and leading out of the latent moral and mental powers of a human being. Possession of information and technical knowledge is not education. The development of, and the ability to express one's thoughts, and to utilize one's mental and moral powers for the good of one's self, and one's fellow beings, is education, whether it be accomplished in the shades of academic institutions, or whether it be attained in the school of hard knocks out in the world of human experience. Real education never injured anyone.

Therefore, the more real education the Negro experiences, the better citizen he becomes, and the higher he rises in the school of national eco-

nomic values. This applies not only to the Negro, whom we have considered as being entirely benighted, but it applies as well to all people everywhere. The greatest need of our country today is this kind of education. Without it, we cannot expect peace and happiness to endure.

In some instances "a little learning" may be "a dangerous thing," but it is not so when even a little learning is in the nature of self-development, rather than a mere smattering of information. It is quite true that this latter kind of "learning" is a dangerous thing to any people, regardless of their color. But the idea that improvement and liberation of the mental faculties of any individual, or of any group of individuals, is unwise and dangerous, is an absolute fallacy. This opinion is held only by those who are themselves uneducated, or by those who know it is not true, but use it as a subterfuge or an excuse for keeping in ignorance a group of people, whom they would like to hold forever in a menial state. On the other hand, those who are wise, well know that even from the purely economic viewpoint, the more enlightened the Negro becomes, the more useful he will be not

only to himself, but to all other people as well. Enlightenment increases efficiency, renders one more appreciative of the dignity of productive work, and heightens his economic value in every legitimate sense.

In the interwoven network of a complex civilization such as we have in America, there are really but two separate and distinct classes of people, viz., producers and non-producers. Naturally, among both of these classes there are many subdivisions. Among the producers there are two classes, which might be called physical producers and mental producers; but after all, every sort of product is directly or indirectly a result of mental effort, for physical effort unguided by intelligence is of little value. The highest type of human effort is that of constructive thought.

The non-producers might be divided into two groups, viz., those who have the capacity and ability to produce either mentally or physically, but through indolence and indifference, refuse to do so. The other group of non-producers are those who might be willing and anxious to contribute their part to the progress of civilization, but through mental or physical

limitation and by force of circumstances, cannot do so. This latter class, of course, is not to be blamed for non-productiveness.

Upon the whole it is safe to assert that in the divine economy of life and progress, in the philosophy of legitimate existence, every individual with either mental or physical ability to contribute something to the economy of the whole, should be required to do so. In other words, that individual who is in position to add anything worth while to the welfare of human existence and refuses to do so, has no moral right to live. Such a one is a "cumberer of the ground," a social parasite, and an unnecessary burden to those who are doing their part in the great scheme of things.

Every age and generation known to human history, has been burdened by very many of such useless and worse than useless people. Among them there have been and are many types. A large percentage of them are not classed as criminals, because by material fortune they have been provided with enough material substance to gratify their passions and propensities, and to meet their every whim and satisfy their vainest ambitions, and still keep within

the law. They constitute the false aristocracy of gold. They have no legitimate place in the true economy of life.

Another group of the non-producers consists of a still larger class of those not legally possessed of material wealth, but live by their wits, constantly endeavoring to get something for nothing. Their very nature is fraudulent, and they are all essentially criminal, whether or not they are ever overtaken and punished by the laws of the land. Our present day is particularly burdened with this class. They have so increased in numbers and have become so powerful, that the stability of our established systems of life is seriously threatened. Thieves, racketeers, robbers, confidence men, and all manner of crooks, have reduced their efforts to not only local, but to nationally organized systems, before which our laws and our honest enforcers of the law, together with our entire worthy citizenship, stand in awe, fearful of the ultimate outcome.

Reverting to the Negro population of the country as it is related to national economics, it is most interesting to note that as a class in proportion to its relation to the whole, it ranks

lowest in the nature of crime above referred to, and it ranks highest in group productivity. But as previously indicated, these facts should not be attributed to any superior traits of morality, honesty, integrity, and industry, on the part of Negroes, but to conditions which render it necessary for them to engage in gainful occupation. Had they the material wealth either from accumulation or through heritage, and had they the time to devote to trickery and artful crookedness, such as white non-producers have, no doubt they would be just as bad as the white people are.

This all leads, however, to the logical deduction, even if it be only from force of circumstances, that in our national economy the Negro is a real and most valuable asset. And not only is he thus valuable to the economy of the nation as a whole, by virtue of the same circumstances he is all the more valuable to himself. There is nothing so fatal to mental and moral growth as the indolence and self-indulgence usually resultant from material wealth. There is nothing so demoralizing to human character, as the desire to live in luxury without expending the honest energy necessary to obtain it. But to these dan-

gers Negroes as a class, have not yet been exposed. They have had no wealth to spoil them. They have been compelled to labor in order to live, and whether they have desired it or not, they have experienced the moral and mental development resultant from legitimate effort.

If there is any truth in the theory that sacrifice and suffering are the forerunners of success, Negroes in America have been most fortunate. If

> The mark of rank in nature
> Is capacity for pain,
> And the anguish of the singer
> Makes the sweetness of the strain,

the sweet-wailing songs of our African brothers, that have lent peculiar distinction to American music, are well accounted for. And because of this economy in suffering which the Negro would never have chosen for himself, but which by fate he fell heir to, he has been signally blest in the development of his patience, in the sweetening of his spirits, in the strengthening of his faith, and in a mastery of environment—all of which conspire to fit him for a more effective existence when he comes into his own.

The economic position of the Negro, from the

viewpoint of *noblesse oblige,* is affected out of all proportion in comparison with that of the white man, because little has been given to the Negro and consequently little has been expected of him. During the little more than fifty years of his freedom and legalized citizenship in the nation, he has gone much further and has achieved much more than the most optimistic minds could possibly have predicted of him. In this respect as compared with the white man, the Negro's stock is far above par. While he has not accomplished as much as the white man has, he has done more than was expected of him, and the white man has done less than his position would indicate that he should do. The Negro ranks higher in the economic evaluation of the human equation than the white man does.

But now, however, it is day by day becoming more difficult for the Negro to sustain this comparative rating, because as he increases in knowledge, and in material wealth, and in cosmic comprehension, his obligations to society increase and the demands upon him commensurably increase. Time alone must reveal his ability to sustain his past record in this respect.

Should we attempt a prediction of his future

in this regard, it can be logically made only upon the basis of his acutal humanity, and inasmuch as we contend that the question of color has really nothing to do with human character, it is but reasonable to expect that as the Negro becomes culturally, socially, and financially more and more like the white man, he will reveal the same traits of good and bad, success and failure, characteristic of his white brothers. To maintain, and if possible, increase his national economic value, he must guard against grave dangers, viz., his inherited feeling of inferiority and dependence upon the "superior" white race, and his natural inclination to become more and more like the white people with whom he comes in contact, whether those white people be good or bad.

As yet, circumstances have prevented his becoming schooled in the arts of higher vice and crime. He has not had the capital, nor the time, even though he may have had the inclination, to learn the tricks and to become skilled in the systematic criminal operations, characteristic of the criminal overlords of our land. As yet he knows little of the ways of the racketeer, the confidence man, the bogus stock manipulator,

the political grafter, the barterer of privilege, etc. But as he is very apt at imitation, and is very quick to learn, it is but reasonable that he will discern the signs of the times and take his cue from his white neighbors, many of whom are his inferiors mentally, but have been most "successful" in accumulating wealth through these devious ways. The extent to which he learns the secrets of crime and follows in the footsteps of those who provide the example, will determine whether he rises or falls as an economic asset to his country.

Against this natural evil tendency, characteristic of humanity as such, the Negro has one great advantage, viz., the power of his inherited religious convictions, and the moral force of past resignation to suffering, and acquaintance with the simple life, to hold him on the straight and narrow path that leads to ultimate human excellence. It will be a long time before the colored race as a whole, in America, is as colossally and effectively corrupt as is the white race.

Should the leaders of his race, the high moralists and true idealists of his people, grasp the profound psychological facts relative to the Negro's past and possible future in this coun-

try, it is altogether possible that, after all, "the stone which the builders rejected, may become the head of the corner" of our national moral edifice, and be the leavening lump to save our body social, politic, and economic from ultimate decay. May it not indeed be possible that in the divine economy of the various racial and national strains converged in America, to eventually exhibit an ideal civilization, the Negro himself with his suffering past and saving future may be the one element to prevent dissolution?

In considering the Negro and national economics, some may think that we are wandering far afield. If so, the opinion can be attributed to the tendency of the time, to consider only the question of dollars and cents in our economic estimates. If this latter fact be true and we cannot consider economic values in other than material things, our situation is helpless and hopeless. If this alone be true, comparatively speaking, the Negro as yet has but little economic value to the nation. If the state of our national health and our future national success depends upon dollars, and dollars alone, and if the economic value of the individual or a group

of individuals, is fixed by the amount of money they have or that which they are capable of obtaining, then we are approaching the fate that has sealed the doom of many other nations before us.

If the Negro has any economic value at all to the nation, it consists of the richness of his moral and spiritual nature, the results of a past which in a material way, never held much before him. His religious faith in the days of oppression led him to look even beyond this life for his reward. But since his liberation from slavery, with the passing of the years, a constant improvement in his general conditions has led him to believe that beyond his present horizons of material vision, there may yet lie in this world for him in reality, a state of happiness which heretofore has been only a dream. Should he keep his faith and cherish his ideals, it remains for him yet, in the biggest and truest sense, to be recognized as a tremendous asset among economic values, in working out here in our land, the greatest social experiment of history. The social state of the world is in a more complicated condition today than it has ever been in the history of the human race.

In America, where practically every race and nation, and every strain of blood is represented, with many of these elements holding inherited prejudices and cherishing fond traditions from other lands, yet all being professedly loyal American citizens, we have nothing more or less than a social boiling caldron.

Whether it shall be reduced to a final and satisfactory essence, or whether it shall explode in the process, no one can tell. This sociological chemicalization, is enough to baffle the minds of our ablest thinkers. Nobody but the profoundest student of sociological mixtures and combinations can possibly analyze these elements, or even make an intelligent attempt to predict the outcome.

Among us there are two great classes, viz., the traditionalists who live in the past, and would entirely shape the future by the past; and, the prophets of the future who would avoid the mistakes of the past, and combine present elements to produce a new and placid state. That any one element of the past can be carried forward to dominate the future, is impossible. That all of the elements here converged from various parts of the world must be combined, is

inevitable. One element cannot despise the other, for to do so, could but engender strife and provoke conflict, that would lead to destruction. It is in this complex, yet startlingly true sense, that the human values must be correctly appraised and properly related, if the future is to be made secure. Otherwise, there can but result an explosion, the like of which the world has not yet seen.

The political demagogue, the time-serving preacher, the captain of industry (if he be only a material economist), the money-mad statesman or stateswoman, and the opportunist of whatever nature, has no place in the legitimate scheme of shaping our future destiny.

In thinking of these things, one is inclined to pause and lower his plummet line into the depths of the mysteries of human existence, but we cannot yield to the temptation. In this book we are concerned only with the place and the work of the Negro in our national scheme of things, which in itself is quite enough to challenge the best that is within us. That the Negro is a most important factor in our national economics, all who have any real appreciation of human values, must agree.

CHAPTER VI

THE NEGRO AND NATIONAL POLITICS

WHILE he does not wish to immodestly call attention to himself, the writer feels it but fair to state that by birth and heritage he is a Democrat. He was born and brought up in the State of Tennessee at a time when in politics in that State, it was scarcely "respectable" to be anything but a Democrat. In truth however, while he has always endeavored to be *democratic* in thought and practice, he has been and remains independent both in political advocacy and in voting. The fact is that while bearing the indelible Democratic partisan stamp, in national elections he has oftener supported the Republican candidate than he has the Democratic candidate. In 1916, he campaigned for Woodrow Wilson and voted for him, mainly because he had "kept us out of war." In 1928, he campaigned for Alfred E. Smith and voted for him, because he believed in Smith and in the principles he advocated. But

in all other national elections when he has voted at all, it was for the Republican candidates.

Therefore, in this present discussion of the Negro and national politics, it is entirely without partisan bias. Here, the sole endeavor is to deal with facts only, and to draw deductions therefrom which will place the Negro in his proper position, politically speaking, and throw some revealing light upon the Negro as a vital factor in our political life.

In America, both in slavery and in freedom, Negroes have been the indirect subjects of political contention, and have determined political issues in ways unknown and unappreciated by the present generation. Negro slaves were the bone of a political contention which precipitated the Civil War. Of course, technically speaking, the contention was over the question of "States Rights." The defenders of that doctrine claimed that the separate States had the right to determine important issues for themselves. The Federalists, or rather the new Republican party claimed that such a grave issue as slavery, was a thing to be determined by the Federal Government alone. While the "States

Rights" propagandists disclaimed that the main issue was that of slavery, but rather a vital principle of government, the fact remains that after all, slavery and slavery alone, was the main issue. It was upon this issue that the war broke, and continued until victory perched upon the banners of the Federalists. The inevitable result was the Emancipation Proclamation by President Lincoln, which gave Negroes their liberty. It was in this sense that as slaves, Negroes figured in our national politics.

It is well to observe at this point, that the question of "States Rights" still remains a vital contention in national politics, with many of our ablest statesmen contending that the principle should obtain, and that unless in a measure it is restored to the States, our Federal Government is destined to dissolution. All must agree however, that the question of slavery, though at the time settled by victory of the Federalists, in no sense affected the principle of "States Rights" vs. Federal supremacy. The difficulty so far as slavery was concerned, was that the States themselves where most of the slaves were owned, were entirely wrong on that question. But when we come to the greatest

issue of this generation, that of prohibition, the question of "States Rights" looms high, with perhaps a majority of the voters in a majority of the States, believing that the subject should be divorced from the Federal Government, with each State being allowed to itself determine the question.

Since the Civil War, the Negro's place in national politics has passed through many varying stages, finally having developed into one which when thoroughly understood by the people at large, is nothing short of startling.

For many years after Negroes were given the right to vote by the Federal Constitution, they were in a large measure unprepared to do their own political thinking. Naturally, without thinking, they were almost without exception devout supporters of the Republican party. They could not be expected to be otherwise. Because that great and good man, Abraham Lincoln, father of the Republican party, signed the Emancipation Proclamation, Negroes as a class, if for no other reason loyally supported the Republican party, and consistently voted the Republican ticket. For many years this idea obtained to the extent that Negroes were "just

naturally supposed" to be Republican in politics. Not until recently, in those States where Negroes have been permitted to vote, have the leaders of the Democratic party even thought of the Negro vote as a matter of any importance, not seeking and not desiring Negro support. And, on the other hand, the Republican party has expected and has accepted Negro support as a simple matter of fact. Republican leaders have boasted that they carried the Negro vote in their vestpockets, and could deliver it as they pleased.

Because the colored group of voters has been Republican, with the exception of a brief period soon after the Civil War, it has not until recently been of any consequence in determining political issues in the southern States. This was due to the fact that until a few years ago, the South always went "solidly" Democratic, and that party did not need the Negro vote. His vote was likewise immaterial to the Republican party in the South, because in many southern States he was not allowed to vote at all; and when and where allowed to vote, it counted for nothing so far as the possibilities of victory were concerned. Therefore, during the greater

part of the time between the Civil War and the present, the Negro was of little political significance in the southern States.

There was, however, a brief period following the war when Negroes were of great political significance in the South. It is well to observe that prior to the Civil War, the Democratic party was national in scope and comprehensiveness, there being no "solid" (Democratic) South. The "solid South" came into existence as a result of Republican military rule over that section for a decade, beginning in March 1867, two years after the war ended. It was known by southerners as the "Reign of Terror," and by northerners was called "Reconstruction." Republicans themselves, were responsible for the creation of the Democratic "solid South." Under the "Reign of Terror," all white people of the South, as a rule, were forced to affiliate with the Democratic party as a means of self-defense against the Terrorists, who planned to permit no one to vote except Negroes, and white people in full sympathy with the Terrorists' movement. A law to this effect was passed, but was set aside by Attorney-General Stanberry, of President Johnson's Cabinet. After all, white

men in the South were thus forced into the Democratic party, and they remained in that party. Their children, and their children's children, grew up as Democrats; and, thereafter for nearly a half-century, in the South it was not considered decent to be anything politically, but a Democrat. It was not because they understood and loved the principles of the Democratic party, so much as that they hated the Republican party, and Republicans themselves, to most of whom they referred contemptuously as "Yankees." Through five decades that spirit and attitude survived in the South, and held the section solidly Democratic.

Some twelve years after the Civil War, with full possession and complete functioning of their civil rights restored, white southerners went to the opposite extreme from the "Reign of Terror." They frightened Negroes into subjection by the spooky, white-hooded riders of the night (the original Ku Klux Klan), and by means of local state laws, made it practically impossible for Negroes to vote at all. In a number of southern States, this condition still remains. Thus, we see that the origin of the so-called Democratic "solid South," and that

the perpetuation of that political condition in the southern States, was not based upon any essential difference between the Democratic party and the Republican party. It was not a question of political economy, nor did it look toward a betterment of the nation as a whole, through the application of any fundamental and legitimate political principles. It was purely the result of race prejudice, and of the operation of "The First Law of Nature," which the white southerners felt at the time was their own self-defense against an unbearable situation imposed upon them by the régime of the "Carpet Baggers." The white southerners felt that if it long continued, the "Reign of Terror" would utterly destroy the white civilization of the South, with all of its traditions and ideals. At the time, being so completely provincial, they had but little national outlook. Indeed, though compelled by the force of arms to remain in the Federal Union, the white South was not at heart a part of the Union. It was but human and natural for the South to remain for the time at least, rebellious in spirit against their victors, and to bitterly resent the rule imposed upon them by their victors. They knew very well that

liberated Negroes were not mentally fitted to take up the reigns of political control over the southern States. And, when that rule was broken, they took extreme measures to prevent its ever recurring. They imposed upon the then helpless Negroes, a social and political subjection more intolerable, if possible, than slavery itself had been. This through the years they followed up, and the result was a line of political and social demarcation between the whites and the blacks, that constitutes an impassable barrier, and more than anything else, has hindered the legitimate progress of the colored people, and so far has rendered practically impossible any substantial interracial understanding and fellowship.

It is just and timely to know, that in the circumstances, Negroes were in no sense to be blamed for the position in which they were placed during the "Reign of Terror." Naturally, they regarded the North as their deliverer from bondage. For this they were inexpressibly grateful. They had every reason for considering the northerners their best friends. Without reasoning, they accepted any proposal coming from northerners, as being best for their own

good. Without hesitancy, they fell into line for any movement proposed for them by their benefactors. They were unable to foresee the inevitable sociological and political results of what the unwise "Carpet Baggers" led them into. They failed to see that instead of placing them in permanent political control of the South, it would inevitably subject them to a long period of social servitude, essentially as humiliating as slavery itself.

Finding themselves thus situated, it was but natural that whenever and wherever possible, they should seek more congenial surroundings elsewhere. In time, this resulted in a great migration of Negroes from the South to the North. This writer remembers more than a quarter of a century ago, when the exodus from his own section in Tennessee began. Indianapolis, Indiana, was the favorite spot to which many Tennessee Negroes bent their course. So alluring were the stories that drifted from Indiana into Tennessee, that the colored people left behind, referred to Indianapolis as "Nigger Heaven." Likewise, to many other cities in the North and East, the colored people migrated in large numbers. And as a result, there is in

New York City today, a "city within a city," comprising the largest single unit of Negro population in the world. In Harlem on Manhattan Island, there is a population of approximately 200,000 colored people. In some of the Jersey cities, and in Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Akron, Cleveland, Columbus, Cincinnati, Dayton, Toledo, Detroit, Chicago, Peoria, St. Louis, Kansas City, Oklahoma City, and in many other places in the East, North, middle West, and the far West, not to mention the "border States" south of the Ohio River, such as Tennessee and Kentucky, there are large groups of Negroes, all enjoying at least the right of political suffrage as free and independent citizens, under the Constitution of the United States.

Because of this natural and inevitable removal of Negroes from the South into these sections, and because of the constant increase of their numbers in these comparatively new seats of habitation for them, whether they are conscious of it or not, *they have, as a mighty minority, come into a position of tremendous political significance and power.*

Wise political management always takes cognizance of the small groups, which sometimes

hold in their hands the political destinies of big men and big issues. Some of these minorities are more or less permanent, while others arise and pass away with one campaign. The one important and ever-increasing minority, which holds tremendous power, is that of Negro voters in the "doubtful" States. In 1928, the Negro vote in such States might have elected Alfred E. Smith to the Presidency, and thereby have established itself as a factor to be recognized and reckoned with, in American politics. But as it happened, the Negro vote was divided, and the colored people of the country stand, politically, just as they stood before the election, having added nothing to their prestige, and gained nothing in their struggle for legitimate recognition in national affairs. But here, let it be said, this writer is not contending that Negroes should have voted solidly for the Democratic nominee, but is only stating an indisputable fact when he says that by this minority's voting as a unit, if only for the sole reason of demonstrating their power, they could have elected the Democratic nominee, and thus have astounded the nation and the world by achieving one of the most sensational feats in the his-

tory of American politics. This writer is of the unbiased opinion, that in present political conditions in America, Negroes as such, are under no great obligations to either the Republican or Democratic party. Heretofore, if anything, he has been but a political pawn in the game of national politics. For his past loyalty to, and support of the Republican party, he has received but scant recognition and reward.

To reflect the thought of some powerful colored political leaders, relative to the present national administration in its dealing with the Negro in politics, we quote from *The Pittsburgh Courier* of October 11, 1930. Robert L. Vann, LL. D., is Editor of *The Pittsburgh Courier,* which politically speaking, is one of the most powerful Negro newspapers in America. Dr. Vann, himself, has for many years been a recognized leader of the Negro wing of the Republican party. In the last three national campaigns, he has held positions of authority at National Headquarters, in managing the campaigns. He is recognized not only by his own racial group, but by hosts of white people in his home city and in many other cities, as a brilliant lawyer, and as one among

the ablest editorial writers in America. He is a profound student of interracial and sociological problems, and on such questions speaks with commanding authority. Dr. Vann numbers among his friends and intimate associates, many of the most brilliant white men and women of our country. So remarkable are his achievements, that he has risen above race limitations, and thinks and speaks in a sphere unaffected by race prejudice on the part of either white or black people. We quote first, the leading article on the front page of Dr. Vann's paper, in the column headed "THE CAMERA," under the title, PARKER "SOP JOBS," which is as follows:

It appears now that the leaders of the Republican party, together with the President, have discovered that nothing is to be expected in the form of Republican strength in the South. North Carolina went back to the Democratic column and everywhere in the South recent elections have shown that Mr. Hoover's strength in 1928 was due to the religion of Al Smith and not due to any Republican victories. The shouting over Virginia, North Carolina and Texas is now at an end. Republican leaders have discovered that the South is the same old Democratic South it always was, and nothing is to be expected in 1932 from the gentlemen below the Mason-Dixon line.

We are forced to this conclusion by recent actions on the

part of the President. Up until about four weeks ago, the President of the United States evidently did not know that there were any Negroes in this country, so far as appointments were concerned, but after the Southern States clearly demonstrated their return to the old Democratic colors the President found it possible and convenient to make a few Negro appointments. It appears that the President has decided to appoint a few Negroes—evidently with the hope that these appointments will allay the dissatisfaction of the colored Republicans throughout the country and put them all in good humor in preparation for a grand Republican landslide in 1932. The President has appointed three Negroes within the last few weeks and most of the Negroes in the country are asking why. The answer is not far to seek. It appears that the Senators who voted for Judge Parker have been able to persuade the President that all is not well in their various states among Negroes and that in order to appease them, some appointments should be made at the request of the Parker-voting Senators in order that the Negro vote may be held in line for the re-election of these Parker-voting Senators. The President does not pay any attention to Negroes in making appointments, if the recent appointments are any criterion. Rather, the President has appointed Negroes for Senators who were afraid of Negro opposition in their states, and he has appointed Negroes for only such Senators as were threatened with opposition by Negroes because of their vote for Judge Parker. These are "Sop Jobs." Everywhere throughout the country these Negro appointees have received the very proper appellation of "Parker Niggers," appointed for Parker-voting Senators. In the minds of the self-respecting colored people of the country these Negroes who have re-

ceived these appointments to appease Parker-voting Senators are not only in poor grace, but they have accepted appointments which add insult to injury, and the Republican leaders ought not to be deceived by these appointments, but ought to know that they are not doing themselves nor the party any good by having the President appoint Negroes to satisfy Parker-voting Senators. In 1932, when the Republican party is looking to these Negro appointees for leadership, he will find that they are able to do only two things—draw their breath and draw their salary, because the great mass of Negroes of this country will not be hoodwinked in 1932 by the soft soap talk of a few "Parker Niggers" who were appointed to appease Parker-voting Senators.

The following is an editorial by Dr. Vann, which appeared in the same issue of *The Pittsburgh Courier:*

FINISHING THE JOB

It is no secret to the readers of *The Pittsburgh Courier* that this journal supported the N.A.A.C.P. (National Association for Advancement of Colored People) in its fight to defeat the confirmation of Judge Parker. It is no secret, either that, the N.A.A.C.P. has set about to finish the job by supplying opposition to all those Senators who voted for Judge Parker and are now up for re-election in their various states. Regardless of the success of the opposition, the N.A.A.C.P. is to be congratulated upon attempting to finish a job well begun.

There is more than the personal record of Judge Parker behind the fight made against his confirmation. The colored

people of the country supported the N.A.A.C.P. in its fight against Judge Parker not because of the man, but because of the principle involved. If the President of the United States insists upon nominating men whose open and known record is against the best interests of any group of people, it must be expected that that group of people, if it has any sense, will oppose to the last ditch Senatorial confirmation of any such appointees. In order that the Senators who brushed aside the opposition of the colored people to the confirmation of Judge Parker may know that the colored people of this country do not propose to endure a recurrence of the Parker incident, opposition to their reelection must continue as the only logical course to pursue. It has been said, all too truthfully, that Negroes have decidedly short memories when it comes to the question of oppression, prejudice and punishment. This defect of memory must be cured, and one of the best ways to cure it is to keep before Negroes the inconveniences they suffered by reason of their short memories; and the continued opposition to the Parker-voting Senators is one of the best means of keeping alive in the minds of Negroes how expensive it is to cultivate short memories. The Negro is becoming an economic factor in this country and he will never take his place as a respected citizen until he learns to serve notice on everybody that he is willing to fight for his rightful "place in the sun."

It is hoped that the N.A.A.C.P. in this particular case, will receive sympathetic assistance from Negroes in the states where these Parker-voting Senators are seeking reelction, and it is no excuse to say that the N.A.A.C.P. is meddling in politics. In this particular instance the principle involved, true enough, is closely related to political

activity and the condition we are trying to remedy can best be remedied by political opposition, because Senators are creatures of political organizations and must be dealt with through political activity.

If the Negro has failed to receive sincere and adequate recognition from the Republican party, for his faithful support of that party since the day of its birth, he certainly is under less obligation to the Democratic party. This party, previous to the last national campaign, never made any serious overtures for his support at the polls. As already stated, the Democratic party in the South never felt any need of Negro support; and, while in the North, it might have felt the need of Negro support, it dared not make open overtures for it, lest by so doing it offend southern Democrats and cause the party as a whole, to lose more white votes than it could possibly gain in Negro votes. Not until the campaign of '28 did the Democratic party as such, make a real national appeal. As everybody knows, there have been only two Democratic Presidents since the Civil War—Cleveland and Wilson, and not until the second election of Woodrow Wilson, was a Democrat elected by force of national appeal. When

the Democratic party did win, it was due to temporary and unusual conditions rather than to national Democratic strength. Switched Republican votes twice elected Grover Cleveland to the Presidency; first, the friends of Roscoe Conkling, in New York, supported Cleveland, because years before, James G. Blaine insulted Conkling by referring to him as "a grandiloquent swell with a turkey-gobbler strut," thus carrying New York for Cleveland, which gave him the election; second, in 1892, bolting Republicans elected Cleveland because of their opposition to the McKinley Tariff and the Force Bill. Cleveland was a recognized statesman and patriot, and many Republicans preferred him as President rather than the Republican candidate. He could not have won with Democratic votes alone. Likewise, Wilson won, first, because the Republican party was hopelessly divided; and second, because he had given the nation a great administration, and, so far, had kept America out of the European War.

Therefore, judging the future by past and present conditions, there can never be another Democratic President except in the possible

event of the opposition party's again being divided, unless the Democratic party makes a nation-wide appeal on the basis of the best interests of all the people, entirely free of sectional, racial and provincial prejudice. In the future, the Democratic party, with normal conditions, can scarcely hope to win without making an appeal for, and without securing the support of the Negro, which in the past, as a rule, it has contemptuously ignored. In the campaign of 1928, in some States the Democratic party openly sought Negro support. In some of the southern States, however, when it began to appear that religious antagonism and opposition to his views relative to the liquor question, might throw those States for the time at least, into the Republican column, a veiled effort was put forth to obtain Negro support for the Democratic nominee. The only real argument that could be made at the time for Negroes to support Smith was, that his election would be a national protest against the Ku Klux Klan, the avowed enemy of the Negro race, and both hated and feared by Negroes. It was an effective argument, and as a result many colored voters in those States did support Smith, but

not enough of them to overcome the loss of white votes from the Democratic party, which for the above mentioned reasons supported Hoover.

This writer went into the South as a speaker under direction of the Democratic National Speakers' Bureau; but an important feature of his mission was a semi-secret one, in that he was expected to, and did confer privately with many Negro leaders on the particular point above mentioned. In some of the States he visited, so fearful were the local Democratic leaders that public knowledge of the party seeking Negro support might do harm, Negro leaders were not permitted to come to Democratic Headquarters to confer with him, but met him in outside private offices for this purpose. To say the least, this was a most unsatisfactory procedure, scarcely expected to win much favor and respect for the Democratic organization on the part of Negro voters. In the State of Kentucky, however, the situation was different, and Negro leaders openly and freely visited Democratic State Headquarters in Louisville, and strong appeal was made all over the State by white Democrats for Negro support.

Since 1928, conditions in southern States that went Republican, have materially changed, and from all indications, without exception, they are swinging back into the Democratic ranks, perhaps to remain permanently. But even with the South solidly restored to the Democratic party, there can be no hope for national success unless the party is able to carry the "doubtful" border States. And, with the Republican party united behind a strong candidate, there is no possibility of Democratic success in the next, or in any future national contest, without its being able to carry these "border" States. In no event with normal conditions can it carry these States, without the united support of the Negro vote which constitutes the "Balance of Power" in these States. Therefore, the logical deduction is that unless the Democratic party emerges from provincialism, and firmly establishes itself upon the broad basis of national appeal, and seeks and wins the support of the Negro it has heretofore despised, there is little hope for its future success.

To achieve this end is no small undertaking, for as previously stated, it is most difficult to conceive of the Negro's finding any satisfactory

"political" reason for supporting the Democratic party. As a racial group, Negroes owe nothing to the Democratic party as such. Of course, as "there are exceptions to all rules," here and there some outstanding individual Democrats have had the best interest of the Negro at heart, and have personally done all they could in the Negro's behalf. But viewing Negroes as a racial group, and the Democratic party as a political unit, actual conditions and the force of circumstances in the past, constitute an almost insurmountable barrier between them. Should they ever come together, it must in a large measure result from the Democratic party's materially revising itself on the question of race prejudice, and from the Negro's being motivated by purposes far transcending purely partisan politics.

The biggest thing in the mind of the American Negro today, is to obtain the recognition socially, economically and politically, to which he feels justly entitled. By the term "socially," he does not mean that all Negroes, as such, should be received and accepted on an equal social footing with all white people. He rightly believes in the aristocracy of character and in-

tellect, and that when his character and intellectual status justify it, he should, as an individual at least, be freely and fully admitted into this aristocracy. But on the other hand, as regards his economic and political status, he feels that under the Constitution he has equal rights with every other citizen.

For long years the Negro race has battled for its recognition without the success it has deserved. So, one naturally wonders whether Negroes as a group will be, if they are not already startled by realization of the fact that, politically at least, they hold in their hands a club which if handled wisely, they may wield and compel a political recognition which heretofore has been denied them. This club is that of the ballot in the States where they hold the "Balance of Power."

In the history of individuals, communities, states, nations, and racial groups, situations sometimes develop which over-ride all other considerations that ordinarily actuate them; when, for example, a supreme issue is at stake. Such is now the case with the colored race in America. Race opportunity and race recognition are of much greater importance to the

Negro in the United States, than is partisan politics. If heretofore, Negroes, when and whether permitted to vote at all have supported the Republican party for no other reason than that through its great founder, they were set free, it is safe to assume that as a race, coming into a new freedom, it must have better reasons and stronger incentives for supporting any political party, than that which heretofore has held it in the Republican ranks.

When we sum up all of these things in present day American politics, we are compelled to take cognizance of the fact that the Negro element constitutes a mighty minority, by which if he is wise he may determine some tremendous issues. It remains to be seen whether Negroes as a class will mould and shape themselves into a racial solidarity, and whether they will have the moral stamina to withstand the unholy influences of political trickery and bribery, that will unquestionably be used to hold them in subjection. But if they are capable of standing together as a unit, and of resisting the force of corruption, they now have the opportunity to demand and command a political recognition they have never had. There are prophets

among both the white and colored races, who confidently predict that the time is not far distant when American Negroes will actually do this thing.

Should they make an effort in this direction as in all probability they will do, it will be toward the one objective of forming themselves into an indestructible political unit, without regard to which party they will support when the time comes. In fact, the public may not know the party or the candidate Negroes will support, until a very short while before the election. That, no doubt will be determined by national platform pronouncements, by what the Negroes regard as sincere overtures for their support, and finally by what they may be led to believe will accrue to them in the way of legitimate political recognition from the party they choose to place in power.

Some may consider this but a fanciful dream which could not possibly come true. But in these latter days of new and very strange political and sociological achievements, when people en masse accomplish the hitherto supposedly impossible, this movement of the Negroes as above outlined, would be simple and

easy of execution. The time has come when masses in group may be led to think alike, to act alike, and by the power of combined individual strength, go forward irresistibly to the goals ahead of them. The most outstanding example of such achievement, is that of the Fascisti under the marvelous leadership of Mussolini in Italy. In that instance we see an unknown individual come out of obscurity, and as it were, by the magic waving of his hand, call forth the millions from the masses to stand as a unit and to follow his leadership in a movement that sets aside the traditions of thousands of years, and causes the imperial rulers to sit in submission upon their thrones awaiting the edicts of his iron will.

Therefore, it is not at all without the realm of possibilities to consider the despised and subjected race of Negroes in America, as being transferred in national politics from the position of Omega to that of Alpha. To say the least, this is a question of such potentiality that even in the next national political campaign it may become more important than that of prohibition, or the tariff, or any of the other time-worn and threadbare issues, over which political

demagogs have raved in days gone by. Should this issue arise, it will be a vital, a living, and a stirring humanitarian contest.

In this connection it may be said that should this issue arise at all, and should it be carried through to completion and success, it must be under the guidance and leadership of noble, altruistic, and purely patriotic minds. To the Negro himself, it must be a cause as sacred and dear to his heart as was that of the ancient Israelites in bondage, when they were striving to reach the "Promised Land." It must be a cause too sacred to be corrupted with the damning influence of America's money-god. It will be an idea too lofty to be grasped and controlled by the demagog, and the low-brow partisan politician. If realized at all, it must be the culmination and full fruition of long years of suffering, and of a weary pilgrimage toward a better day. In fact, it might mean the salvation of American politics through its being the leavening lump to save the whole from ultimate putrefaction. Of course, it may be an ideal, not obtainable within the next few years or within the next few decades, but if not now, ultimately it must become a fact.

It is certain that should such a movement be inaugurated, it will put the two dominant political parties of America on the qui vive. So far as the Republican party is concerned, if it holds the Negro vote, it must return both in word and deed to the principles that moved the brain and heart of the great Lincoln to real humanitarian deeds. It must realize that there is a bondage to which people may be subjected, as revolting as that of material chains.

As for the Democratic party, if it ever wins Negro support, it must become *democratic* in spirit and attitude, in addition to being called Democratic as a partisan name. Were the Democratic party not provincial, but comprehensively humanitarian and national in its appeal, it would not be difficult for Negroes to identify themselves with it, for by nature they are the most *democratic* people in the world. And when the Democratic party becomes democratic in practice as well as in precept, it will have greater appeal to all classes of voters, regardless of section or race, than it has had.

As the national committees and executive committees, with present candidates and prospective candidates for high office in both big

political parties contemplate the future and lay their plans for coming campaigns, if they are wise, they will not overlook the fact that the Negro in national politics is a factor they cannot disregard without fatal consequences.

CHAPTER VII

THE NEGRO AND NATIONAL RELIGION

THE term "National Religion" in the United States, in a sense, is a misnomer. Theoretically at least, to the extent of boastfulness, we proclaim America as a land of religious freedom where any and all creeds are tolerated, and where every soul may worship "according to the dictates of conscience." The public mind in the United States distinctly favors the permanent separation of church and state.

This religious attitude of the American people is more than theory. To a great extent it is fact. Practically every religious creed and cult of the whole world is represented in the United States, with new ones springing up all the time. And, be it said, that so long as the devotees of the many creeds and the practisers of the cults confine themselves to their own beliefs and forms of worship, without interfering with others, they are permitted to proceed unmolested.

Yet, in another sense, the United States has a national religion. Notwithstanding there are millions of Jews in America, and that there are millions of others holding religious convictions entirely different from the doctrines of Christianity, this country is recognized all over the world as a "Christian" nation. By this, we mean of course, that it is a Christian nation as distinct from other nations holding other religious convictions, such as Japan, China, India, Turkey, etc. In this sense, and in this only, has America a national religion. We might go further with the analysis and say that so far, America has been regarded as a Protestant Christian nation, as distinct from some other countries where Roman Catholicism or Greek Catholicism has predominated. However, due to the fact that Protestantism has become divided into so many sectarian groups, and to the further fact that many of the greatest thinkers among these Protestant groups have gone "modern," disclaiming many of the fundamental doctrines of Christianity, upon which the religion was founded, such as the infallibility of the Scriptures, the miraculous conception of Christ, the resurrection of the body of Christ,

etc., Protestantism as a dominant religious force, affecting the thought and conduct of the people, is rapidly waning. And, since Roman Catholicism, due to its tenacious adherence to the fundamental doctrines of Christianity, to its rigid maintenance of ecclesiastical authority, and to the simple but unswerving faith of its ever-increasing millions of adherents, is likely within a few years to become the dominant religion of the United States. This does not mean that the Roman Catholic will ever become a "State Church," in the sense of exercising any sort of temporal power in America. It does mean that if Protestantism continues to wane and Catholicism continues to increase, the Roman Catholic Church will soon be, if it is not already, the greatest religious force in the United States.

Taking all religions into consideration, and considering the vast number of religious edifices already constructed, and continuously being constructed in this country, with the hosts of educational institutions in which the doctrines of the various religions are being taught, and with the vast amount of religious literature such as books, periodicals, and endless religious articles that are read by millions, this nation

technically at least, is emphatically religious.

There is however, a vast difference between theory and fact, between preaching and practice, when it comes to the question of religion; and in no other country perhaps, is this so true as it is in America. Indeed, many independent and profound thinkers are of the opinion that with reference to theory and fact, preaching and practice, not only in religion, but in the science of government as related to liberty and democracy, the United States of America has become colossally inconsistent. Many believe that, religiously speaking, what was once a reality in faith and fervor—and politically speaking, what was once a democracy of freedom, are now but names and dreams. They have just ground for believing that we are experiencing a decadence of true religion that vitally affects the consciences and conduct of people in that we, as a nation, have turned away from the devout worship of the true God, and have made Plutus, Bacchus and Venus the divinities of our time. The masses of American citizens are votaries of wealth, or revelry or sensual indulgence. Comparatively few are solemn wor-

shippers of the "Unknown God," whom Paul declared to the Athenians.

Among the avowed worshippers of the true God, in the religious denominations of today, there is little of the old time faith and fervor. Some claim that the great Catholic and Episcopal churches are too much given to form and ceremony. Others claim that the Christian Science Church has made religion largely a philosophy, and that other Protestant denominations, shorn of both God and the devil, heaven and hell, have turned their churches into workshops, community centers, or social clubs, in which the Gospel of Grace is a secondary matter, and "salvation from sin" a lost art. It is a significant fact that in Protestant America, the "old time religion," the religion of salvation by grace through faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, the doctrine of the new birth, of redemption from sin through the sacrificial atonement of a crucified Savior—"religious experience," emotional fervor, and ecstatic exaltation are largely confined to the Negro churches.

The writer would have it distinctly understood that in this work, he is as unbiased with reference to religion as he is in discussing the

question of politics. It is not his purpose in any sense, to espouse or condemn the teachings of any religious body. With the vast majority of honest thinkers, he believes there is good in all religions, and perhaps some bad as well. He believes that the sum-total of truth and the ideal system of faith and practice, can only be realized by culling that which is good and true from all religions and combining them into the one perfect religion.

This of course, is quite impossible for the present or for the near future, and remains but a utopian dream which may possibly come true with the dawn of the "Golden Age." After all, it is scarcely to be hoped for, so long as human nature remains what it is. It is one of those things as unreachable and as unrealizable, as is universal peace.

Nevertheless, we cannot ignore the force and value—the absolute necessity—of religion in civilization. Regardless of anyone's individual belief concerning God, religion and immortality of the soul, we are compelled by the philosophy of history and the science of life to recognize religion, even with its inconsistencies and shortcomings, as the basis of civilization. Whether

the "hope of reward and the fear of punishment" are the greatest motivating forces governing human conduct, and even divorcing religion from the "hope of heaven and the fear of hell" in a life hereafter, it has been and is the greatest binding and holding element of human beings in their inter-related experience.

There is something about religion, though it may not be scientifically explained, which inevitably connects it with scientific progress, and subconsciously imbeds itself in every upward-looking and forward-moving soul. In this sense, in every age and generation of human history, it has been the mainstay of the world's adventurers as they pushed out into the unknown. As they sailed over uncharted seas, braved desert wastes, penetrated dense jungles, scaled mountain heights, and essayed the highways of the air, daring the dangers of heat and cold, wind and storm, and the impenetrable fog, having utilized everything that science could provide for their safety, they have put their trust in the strong arm of God to uphold them and bear them on to their goals. This latter fact they may not have proclaimed to the world, but no doubt almost without exception they have

felt it in their hearts. Not only has this been true of those daring individuals themselves, but the same spirit has pervaded the minds of the multitudes left behind, eagerly awaiting the outcome of their adventures.

There is a very real sort of religion that transcends man-made creeds, ignores established standards of piety and conduct, and belongs alone to those who experience it. It is a universal religion, and after all, perhaps the most real thing in human experience, because it connects mortal beings with the Supreme Power by an unbreakable link. One of the most beautiful manifestations of this kind of religion occurred at a prize fight in New York City, the evening Charles A. Lindbergh was making his historic flight to Paris. Before the big fight began, the announcer lifted his hand for silence, and the multi-thousands there assembled heard him say, in effect, "Let this great assemblage pause for a few minutes in silent prayer that God may sustain Lindbergh and carry him safely over the sea to his goal at Paris." Apparently to a man, that great crowd of people gave heed to the request; and it has been said by some who were present that not only were they solemnly silent,

but the lips of many could be seen pronouncing words of supplication. Who can gainsay that God heard and answered that prayer? This is the sort of thing that makes America—yes, and the entire human race—a religious nation, and a religious world. There are times in the experiences of all of us when we stand helpless and alone, entirely dependent upon a Higher Power.

The same principle applies to groups of people as well. It characterized the beginnings of the history of our nation, for when the pilgrim fathers put forth from the shores of England to make their abode in the new land west of the Atlantic, their trust was in God. As the early colonists carved this new civilization from the wilderness, wrested it from the savage and consecrated it forever as the "land of the free and the home of the brave," they looked to a Higher Power for protection and guidance.

While they were thus essentially religious, they were also very human, made many mistakes, and committed many sins. This weak side of humanity has been manifest always and everywhere, and no doubt will continue to be so. The early Americans thrived and pros-

pered, and their numbers were rapidly increased by others who followed them from foreign lands, and by rapid multiplication of the species in the new domain. They were humanly selfish, and were motivated by greed for gain. In order to increase their wealth and contribute to their ease and luxury, they sank so low as to enslave many of their fellow beings.

Human beings are not anything if not inconsistent. We cannot find fault with one another because of this inconsistency, as it is universally characteristic of mankind. We are bad, and we try to be good at the same time. The slave-owners of America as a rule, were very "religious" people, but were guilty of the sin of human slavery, and loved it so much that they were willing to fight to the death for its maintenance.

The fact of human slavery in early American history, in religion even more than in politics, placed the Negro in a position which indelibly stamped him as a powerful element in our national life. With regard to religion, it gave the Negro an opportunity to make one of the most remarkable demonstrations in human history. While by nature Negroes may not be any

more religious than any other race, yet in slavery, by the very force of circumstances they were compelled to rely upon God, and upon God alone, as their sole hope for the future. No doubt, in the same circumstances, any other race would have done likewise. So complete, so helpless and so hopeless was their subjection, that Negro slaves, unable to grasp the idea and cherish the hope of freedom in this life, naturally abandoned themselves to death as their only deliverer, and to the hope of eternal freedom in Paradise. Thus, the physical bondage and the spiritual freedom of Negro slaves, developed within them, through simple faith fervently manifested, a religion all their own, which was at once one of the most beautiful expressions of its kind known to history. The religion of Negro slaves made an impression not only upon that day and generation, but so indelibly stamped itself upon American life and American history, that it can never be eradicated. It lent a colorful beauty to the time, which becomes more and more impressive as we view it through the perspective of the passing years. It produced a sublime faith which abides in the minds of the sons and daughters

of the race, and holds them yet in a divinely fortified position which no human or material power can successfully attack. It also produced a folk-lore which is sacredly enshrined by tradition, and in the pages of literature, becoming more beautiful with each passing generation. It gave to us our only distinctive American music, which we call "Negro Spirituals," and still later another form of livelier music known as ragtime and jazz. The latter is the result of the liberated Negro spirit, hilariously produced, and which, with its coming has set the whole world awiggle.

This music, so remarkable, so beautiful, so artistic, and so humanly appealing, could never have been but for the early slavery and the subsequent freedom of Negroes. The present artistic and commercial spirit of our country has been quick to grasp the opportunity and give to it a magical renaissance, with all that modern science can do to broadcast it before the listening and entranced multitudes of the entire world. Nothing broadcast by the radio today is more popular, and at the same time more spiritually refining, than this magic revival of the old-time Negro spirituals. Sweet singers, like

the golden voiced Lucille Turner of Virginia, and many other great artists, are reproducing over the radio with marvelous exactness the songs and the simple conversation of the old-time Negroes, at last giving them their true place in the sun. And, should it be that the departed spirits of the colored people whose souls and voices gave those songs to the world, are cognizant of what is going on down here, they must find unspeakable satisfaction in the knowledge that the millions are now listening to the songs which in their day they sang in loneliness and comparative solitude. Through the spirituals, Negro slaves not only made a great contribution to national religion in their own day, but also to the national religion of America for all future time. They made the original contribution of the spirituals to American religious music, and their example has been and is being faithfully followed by modern composers. Some of the greatest Negro spirituals have been done in latter years by Harry T. Burley, and other master composers among the colored group. Some white composers also have followed their example in giving the world some beautiful music of that type. But

the supreme effect of Negro music, which is the result of the Negro's faith, is through the influence of that music upon the minds and hearts of the millions who now hear it over the radio. It is perhaps doing more to soften the hearts of this callous generation and to turn the mind of this age back to simple faith in God, than is all the preaching from all the pulpits in the land. Miss Lucille Turner tells me that she receives more than a thousand letters every week from people in every section of the country, telling her how much they enjoy her songs. It is said that in one of the American prisons, on two occasions when she sang the spiritual "I Don't Want to Die Because I Must Go by Myself," many of the prisoners weeping, fell upon their knees and prayed.

We see that the achievements of modern science are promulgating in the present, the religious faith of a humble people of the past, and hand in hand science and religion are doing their part to keep this a religious nation.

A history of religion is a history of humanity. A true and complete record of the religions of all races would be, perhaps, the best history of humanity as a whole. We are particularly con-

cerned, however, with the religious life of the colored race in this country, as it has affected the Negro himself and in turn as it has affected the thought and life of the nation as a whole. During the period of his bondage and for many years thereafter, the religion of the Negro was that of the simplest faith, yet always emotionally expressed. And, strange to say, during that period the reflex influence of his religion resulted very much more in ecstatic fervor and crudely poetic and imaginative expression, than in moral control of outward conduct.

While he had his own philosophy which in many ways was profound, he has yet had but slight conception of a strict code of ethics. Indeed, because of his servitude and his enforced position of inferiority, he had but little need of a rule of ethics. His conception of life did not demand it. Whether conscious of it or not, he had but little hope of the material reward and social recognition which always result from high standards of inter-related human conduct. His hope for deliverance, and for abiding happiness extended far beyond human possessions and material horizons. The sweep of his imagination and the reach of his faith, extended over

into the life beyond, and as he firmly believed, took hold upon God Himself. Thus, he communed with his God, and in moments of spiritual exultation he dwelt with the immensities and eternities. At such times, and with such faith, the shackles of slavery meant little to him. It was from such exultations that came some of the immortal spirituals which have remained unchanged by any of man's mental and material achievements. With the eye of his spiritual vision and his strong arm of faith, he looked up, and reached up, and laid hold upon the chariots of the heavens. His slavery was not to be permanent, for this world was not his abiding place. Hence, out of his soul he sang,

> Swing low, sweet chariot,
> Comin' for to carry me home!

His earthly, temporal, human conduct was one thing, and his dream of ultimate deliverance and eternal bliss in another life, was an entirely different thing. And naturally, his miserable earthly realities and the life he expected in the hereafter being so widely separated, that blissful state which to him was yet to be, had little influence over his daily doings,

as figuratively at least, driven by the lash of necessity he went forth to his tasks.

These same conditions prevailed among Negroes for a long time after their emancipation. For example, I have never known a more devoutly religious person than an elderly colored woman, who some years ago served as a cook in my home. She was a faithful attendant at her church, and frequently entertained her pastor at her home. Almost without exception, on a Saturday evening when she expected the preacher for dinner at her house the following day, she never failed to carry away from my house bountiful supplies for the next day's feast. More for amusement than otherwise, one evening I stopped her as she went out, and said, "Aunt Martha, what have you in that basket?"

She answered, "Nothin' much, Mr. Hill."

I said, "Let me take a look." And lifting the cover, I saw that she had sugar, butter, flour, a chicken, and numerous other things which would contribute to a wholesome dinner.

"You must be going to have the preacher for dinner tomorrow, aren't you?"

"Yassa, Mr. Hill, I is. I didn't think you

would care much if I took along some vittles for dinner."

"No, I don't care, Aunt Martha. But don't you think it would be better if you asked permission to do this?"

"Well," she said, "I did think about that, but knowin' you wuz a preacher yosef, and that you wuz sich a good man, I didn't want to botha you by askin'."

Her reply was characteristically clever and only provoked a laugh from me. I had known all the while that she was doing this, and took it as a matter of course.

The same principle applied in large measure to Negroes of that type and time in general. The preacher was a prince among them, and so far as it was possible for them to obtain what they called "good vittles," those preachers were provided the fat of the land. What they did not have and what they were unable to buy, they simply "took" whenever they could lay their hands upon it. They were not thieves at heart, nor did they ever dream that they were actually stealing.

After all, we can but wonder whether in our own way and in our own spheres, we are not

all more or less like those old-time colored people. With most of us, to a greater or less extent, there is a line of demarcation between our Sunday religion and our daily conduct. And, when it comes to taking those things which do not legitimately belong to us, there are many who consider themselves devoutly religious and yet, so far as it is possible "within the law," "take" many things for which "value received" is not given.

We might go further and say, that devotion to the clergy is as characteristic of white people today, as it was of the colored people in that day. By common consent and general practice, in a sense we apotheosize the ministry. I know that in my father's house, known as a "preacher's home," "special spreads" were always provided when we had ministers as guests. The clergy have always been notoriously known as good eaters. Not so long ago, I happened to be present at a luncheon in a big church in the City of New York, where a Conference was being held. The elegant ladies of that big congregation served the luncheon. I was privileged to sit at the table where a Bishop was the guest of honor. I can never forget that Bishop. His

was a commanding presence. Large of stature, bald of head, side-burned and bewiskered in silken gray, florid of face, and smiling with satisfaction, he was the "observed of all observers." The choicest of viands, by the delicate hands of beautiful ladies were first passed to his reverence. He ate with a gusto and satisfaction, socially refreshing if not satisfying to the appetites of those who sat around him. In my mind I could but say, "long live the Bishop!" But at the same time wondering why he had not been a victim of apoplexy. No colored religious enthusiasts ever fed a colored parson with more delight than that with which the charming ladies of this metropolitan congregation served this modern ecclesiastical dignitary. And, no Negro preacher ever ate fried chicken with more satisfaction than did the Bishop on this occasion.

Not only is this true of the Protestant clergy, both white and black, but if possible, our Roman Catholic friends hold their Priests and higher ecclesiastics even in greater awe and reverence. Just recently a letter from a friend who is a Catholic, gave a vivid account of a dinner served by the ladies of a little Roman Catholic

parish in a small Kansas town, upon the occasion of the dedication of their Church. The non-Catholic ladies of the community joined with their Catholic sisters in providing a bountiful feast. In addition to the clergy from a number of surrounding towns, the outstanding guest was the Bishop of the Diocese, from a city not far away. Rank counts for much among the Catholic clergy, and of course, the Bishop himself sat at the head of the table of honor. The other tables were orderly arranged in the room, with the Bishop's table in the center. For the Priests of ordinary rank, the best served in the way of fowl, was chicken; but for the Bishop's table there was a big turkey, with all the trimmings that go with it. And so, with turkey and cranberry sauce, and gravy and dressing, the Bishop regaled himself, while the other Priests had to be content with food less distinguished.

These refreshing but not uncommon incidents serve to remind us, if we will only observe them, that in the course of social and religious amenities, even the old-time Negroes were not more childish, nor superstitious, nor given to the common prejudices, passions and frailties of

human nature, than are those placed highest in the scale of culture and supposed human excellency.

Perhaps no other phase of life has afforded greater opportunity for social courtesies and for physical engorgement, than has religion. If church people do not "eat, drink and be merry, for tomorrow they die," they certainly eat and are merry even though the drinking be barred. It is a well known fact that one of the greatest lay churchmen of modern times, an outstanding protagonist of temperance, was known (to put it mildly) as a very hearty eater. Some claim that he shortened his days and helped to "dig his own grave with his teeth."

It might truthfully be said that while the old-time colored preachers provided spiritual food for the members of their flocks, and at the same time the members of their flocks provided them with food for the inner man, they were not so far afield from that which is still practised by the more modern and cultivated preachers and people of both races. And, if the moral codes of some of those colored religionists overlooked the sanctity of sex without doing violence to their consciences, could we but know all the

facts, the same might, in a measure at least, apply to some prominent white churchmen of today. History is not without many sensational pages upon which are recorded the philanderings of some nationally and even internationally known clergymen, to say nothing of hosts of others whose deeds of such character never come to light.

The frailties, shortcomings, and inconsistencies of human nature do not detract from the value of religion, but only emphasize the need of it. The best of us are but "poor weak mortals, after all." And, aside from the humorous incidents coming out of the religious life of the colored people in the earlier days, the true student of religion and of its values to civilization, realizes its importance as it affected that type, in its own time, and as it affects our entire national life at this time.

With the passing of years and with the advancement of colored people, their religion has taken on a phase vastly different from that which characterized the earlier days. Then their minds were crude, and naturally their manner of worship was crude. True, the great out of doors was their cathedral and the groves were

their temples. They were well acquainted with the clouds and the stars, the gentle winds whispered to them in the still small voice of the spirit, and the thundering storms spoke the raging wrath of God. Thus, they had many advantages over us in our more civilized day, as we are crowded into the great metropolitan centers, surrounded by brick and mortar, hidden from the sun, and are compelled to breathe air foul and polluted, saturated with a thousand noxious odors. To say the least, those simple people could go out into the fields or climb to the hilltops, where the undefiled winds of God could blow upon them and make them clean.

In religion, with all of its accouterments and paraphernalia, colored people in America are becoming more and more like the white people. Their ministry is being liberally educated. They have built and are continuing to build beautiful temples of worship. Many of their churches in the metropolitan centers compare favorably with the finest religious edifices of the white people. Many of their preachers are cultured to a high degree and are brilliant pulpit orators. In music, excepting of course, the Roman Catholic and Episcopal churches with

their splendid choirs, Negro churches as a rule, far excel the white Protestant churches. In America, Negroes are naturally much better singers than are the white people. Their worship is conducted with marked aesthetic taste, and is carried on with perfect decorum. To the modern Negro churchman as well as to the modern white churchman in America, "the old-time religion" and the old-time exalted religious fervor, are but memories and traditions. They are kept alive of course, as fond memories and hallowed traditions, and thus, still exercise a powerful influence over the more refined spiritual nature of modern Negro worshippers. It is mainly in this way that the religion of the old-time Negro affects the religion of the modern Negro. From his forefathers the modern Negro has inherited his religious nature, even though it manifests itself in a manner less demonstrative.

It is not the policy of the writer to burden these pages with dry statistics. However, the average reader might be interested to know the approximate number of the more than ten millions of Negroes in America, identified as members of the religious denominations. It might

also be interesting to know how they are divided in membership, among the various denominations. For such information, the reader is respectfully referred to any one of the publications, such as the World Almanac by the New York *World,* or the Daily News Almanac, published by the Chicago *Daily News.* Accurate information of this character may also be had from the Negro Year Book, published by Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute, at Tuskegee, Alabama. In this connection, however, it is safe to say that in the proportionate ratio of population, more Negroes are actively identified with the various religious denominations than are white people.

More than half of the adult Negro population in America is identified with some church or other. A very large majority of Negro church-members in the United States belong to Protestant denominations. But from a careful analysis of all the churches, and of the forms of worship in the churches, both Protestant and Catholic, and of the Negro's mental makeup and natural tendencies, the inevitable conclusion must be that most Negroes are Protestant because of their early religious environment.

Their religious history had its beginning in the South where the Protestant churches predominated, and naturally, the colored churches became Baptist or Methodist, or Presbyterian, or what not, because they were patterned after the white churches which were the only models they had at hand. Those organizations, from their humble beginnings, have spread far and wide over the country at large, and have taken on such proportions that their membership is now numbered among the millions. The largest among them is Baptist, with the A. M. E. Zion, perhaps ranking second. Practically all of the Protestant religious bodies in America are represented by Negro organizations.

Though small in number, there are some colored Episcopalian and Roman Catholic churches. In some of the cities where there are no colored Roman Catholic congregations, a sprinkling of Negroes here and there, are communicants of white Roman Catholic churches.

It is significant that within the last decade, the proportionate number of Negroes becoming Episcopalians and Catholics, particularly the latter, has rapidly increased. This fact, together with a careful study of Negro psychology

and the peculiarities of the Episcopalian and Catholic churches, lead the writer to make a prediction which of course may, or may not come true. Holding no brief for any church, and in this connection disclaiming any bias for or against any religious body, the writer believes that within another half century a much larger proportion of American religionists classed as Negroes, will become members of the two last mentioned religious bodies, with more of them Catholic than Episcopalian.

This prediction is based upon well-known facts relative to the Negro's nature, and upon the doctrines and the forms of worship of these churches. As regards the Negro himself, his mind and his artistic and dramatic nature quickly sense and readily react to the colorful, the theatrical, the "pomp and circumstance," and to the dramatic, in expression of all things. In this sense, the Episcopalian service and the High Mass of the Roman Catholic church render complete satisfaction to the natural demands of the Negro's mental and artistic being. There is not enough force in adverse conditions and circumstances to always keep separated a people, and systems and forms of worship, as naturally

adapted and as completely conforming to each other as are the colored people and the two above mentioned churches.

There are other strong reasons why these predictions may come true, viz., because radical transitions and startling changes rapidly wrought, are characteristic of our day and generation. In business, in society, and in politics, developments and revolutionary changes within the last decade have set aside many practices and traditions of past centuries, and have upset established standards and placed big question marks after plans for the future. If true in these things, why may they not also be true with regard to religion? Because a great majority of Negro Christians have been Protestant in the past, is no reason that they will remain so in the future.

The rapid cultural development now taking place among Negroes, with their ever-increasing desire for freedom and recognition on a basis of legitimate equality, is likely to contribute to this predicted religious transition in the Negro population. His increasing dissatisfaction with the discriminations that are made against him even in Protestant religious circles, may accel-

erate his movement toward the Roman Catholic church when he fully realizes that this church does not now make, and never has made any race discrimination. This will be all the more forceful as he continues to contemplate the fact that he has never been permitted to enter white Protestant churches in the South, as a worshipper in their congregations. While the Negro churches, in names, in formulated doctrines, and in manner of worship have copied the churches of their white "brethren" in the South, Negroes themselves have never been permitted as worshippers, to have a place with the whites as equals, even in the sight of God. So strong was the religious prejudice against the Negro in the South, that several great ecclesiastical bodies became divided on the subject, and as a result we still have the "Southern" Methodist Episcopal Church, and the "Southern" Presbyterian Church. Until this day, while otherwise identical in name and doctrine with the Methodist and Presbyterian churches in the North, those southern churches remain separated and distinguished from the northern churches because of race prejudice.

Still another reason that may contribute to

the future exodus of Negroes from Protestantism into Roman Catholicism, may be the fact that the Catholic church remains loyal to the fundamental scheme of human redemption through Jesus Christ. With the Negro, so far as it relates to the salvation of his soul, Christianity "is everything or nothing." Religious Negroes still give God the credit for their deliverance from physical slavery, and through their Savior they look to Him for deliverance from sin and all its penalties, in the life to come. The modern Protestantism that more and more is setting aside the authority of the Scriptures, and the divinity of Christ as the Son of God and the Savior of men, does not appeal strongly to the great body of Negro Christians. They do not take to the modern socialization of the churches, nor do they feel that the so-called ethical trend of Protestant religion holds anything definitely encouraging for their future. Therefore, in summing up all of these facts as arguments, is it unreasonable to believe that the Negro's natural love and adaptability to the gorgeous and appealing forms of worship in the Catholic church, the social liberty he can find in the Catholic church, and the loyalty of

the Catholic church to the authority of the Scriptures and to Christ as a Savior of the lost, may not all combine to eventually lead him away from Protestantism into Catholicism?

As already said, these arguments are not made with any hope or desire that they may come true, but for the simple reason that they are worthy of consideration, if not startling from their logical force. It is safe to assume however, that the rank and file of Protestant Negroes in this present generation, will make no such change. Their organizations are strong, and in numbers and efficiency they are rapidly gaining, with no indication of any immediate radical changes.

Of one thing we may be positively certain, viz., as a religious factor in the nation, the Negro's place is powerful. His is an influence that over-rides race distinction and vitally affects, even though subconsciously, the spiritual life of all the people. As already indicated, the reproduction of the old-time Negro songs and folk lore, broadcast by means of the radio, and heard by the multi-millions, can but result in a new spiritual life which, in its full flower and

fruitage, may become a determining factor in the future salvation of this nation.

If American Negroes as a class are anything worth while, they are all the more so because they are a religious people. Their religion is that "good part" which cannot be taken away from them. It soothed and sustained them in their days of shackled tragedy, it gave them courage and hope when in their early liberty and poverty they otherwise would have been helpless; and now, as a new freedom, in the dawning day of a new hope and assurance breaks upon them, they are not going to forsake their God, whom they believe has safely led them thus far. And, whatever form of expression their religion may take, whatever may be the nature of their creeds, regardless of their future cultural development, religion will remain with them a vital, living thing.

That this nation today stands in need of such religious force as the Negroes have exemplified, and no doubt will continue to exemplify, no sane and serious individual can deny. If in His wisdom and providence, God sees fit to lodge His "Ark of the Covenant" for the future of

his people in America, with the colored people, all other devout Christians should hail it with joy and look to this race as the possible saving element of an otherwise deplorable situation.

CHAPTER VIII

THE NEGRO AND NATIONAL PATRIOTISM

NOT least among the characteristics of a great and good country, such as economy, thrift, education, healthy politics, religion, etc., is national patriotism. Because there are such varying conceptions of it, and because it is manifested in so many ways, patriotism is hard to define. Academically speaking it is love of, loyalty and devotion to one's country; but in actual experience it is oftener hatred of other countries than love of one's own country. There is also a wide difference between the various types of personal patriotism and the patriotism of the masses, which is the general average of that of the individuals comprising the masses. And further, on the part of both the individuals and the masses, there is a patriotism in times of war in marked contrast to the patriotism in times of peace. So, at best, the question of national patriotism is a complicated one. It is complicated because it has its source in many types of

individuals, and is prompted by widely varying motives.

There is perhaps, no other nation in the world whose patriotism in peace is more different from its patriotism in war, than is true of the United States of America. This no doubt is due to the complex racial and national strains comprising the present population of our country. Some are patriotically devoted to the nation because of its fundamental principles of life and liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, based upon the best traditions of our government and our national history. Others, at the "drop of a hat" are ready to fight for this nation, not because they love it so well, but because to them it is a land of opportunity to get material gain. This particularly applies to the vast hordes of foreigners who have come to our shores for the specific purpose of bettering their material condition. They of course, for most part, belong to the "laboring" classes. And, going to the opposite extreme, there are hosts of capitalists who are always ready to back a war to the limit, particularly when foreign nations are involved, because of the opportunity it affords them for great material gain. This was peculiarly true

of the World War, which greatly increased the number of millionaires in America. It was a strange psychology which brought the hosts of Americans together in one common unit to fight under President Wilson's slogan, "To make the world safe for Democracy." But in truth, real understanding and actual love of democracy was among the least of the motivating powers that led Americans as a whole, to fight in that war.

The actual patriotism of a people can be determined only in times of peace. The love of country upon the part of both the rich and the poor, the known and the unknown, the leaders and the followers, is manifested by their democracy, and by their faithful and unselfish cooperation for the common good of the nation in times other than when it is engaged in a war.

This being true, actual conditions in the United States at the time of this writing and at many other times in the past peaceful history of America, are a sad comment upon American patriotism. To realize the truth of this statement, we have only to consider that never in the history of the nation or in the history of any other nation, has a country been so bountifully blessed with all things essential to human hap-

piness, as is the United States today. Of the materials for food, clothing, shelter and for all the comforts and luxuries of this marvelous inventive age, America has enough, and vast quantities to spare for other peoples less fortunately situated. In addition to this, there was never a time when our country had as much money as it has today. While of course, money is useless except as a medium of exchange, the fact that there is such an abundance of it in America, is an indisputable evidence of our tremendous material resources and possessions. As a nation, we reach beyond all human necessity and beyond compare.

On the other hand, we are in the midst of a great business and financial depression. As the chilling winds and biting frosts come out of the North, snarling and snapping to devour their prey, they but forebode the unspeakable suffering that is bound to overtake unfortunate millions of our population during winter. Men and women are walking the streets of the cities and towns, and are frequenting the highways and byways of the rural districts begging for employment; and failing to find it, they must beg for bread and shelter. At the same time there are

other millions of supposedly patriotic Americans who are literally wallowing in wealth, with seeming indifference to the destitution of the other millions of their suffering fellow citizens. This condition, within itself is a sufficiently sad comment upon American patriotism in a time of peace, and is an abiding reminder of the truth of the lines of Burns,

> Man's inhumanity to man,
> Makes countless thousands mourn.

Without undertaking to analyze the causes which produce such situations, it is safe to say that the minds which control and direct the political, the governmental, the industrial, the commercial, and vastly complex social affairs of this nation, are either woefully inefficient or colossally corrupt, else such misery could not overtake so many of our people when there is no legitimate reason for it. We cannot overlook the fact, however, that far-reaching remedial measures are being taken to relieve, in a measure, the destitution of the millions; and, no doubt those in governmental authority are doing their best to remedy the evils. But, necessary as is such relief, it were far better to apply preventive

measures than to be forced to take the remedial steps. No doubt, sufficient relief will be afforded to prevent starvation, except in rare instances, but that tremendous suffering will be the lot of many, is a certainty.

A careful analysis of the motives for extending relief to the destitute would perhaps reveal that it does not arise so much from any deep-seated human sympathy or common human interest between man and man, as that the rich and "respectable" could scarcely afford to have the world know that they permitted any great number of their fellow beings to freeze or starve in a land of plenty. And besides, there is a limit to the endurance of human suffering and a limit to the safety of human indifference. Some might say that public conscience asserts itself in such situations, but after all, it may be more a public fear of future consequences than that of conscientious sympathy for those in distress.

Among all the great forces operative for good in our civilization, such as education, religion, etc., real patriotism no doubt would be the most potent in producing the ideal state. But the patriotism of peace—not the patriotism of war,

is the only thing that can save us from national disintegration.

When we define patriotism as "the love of country" it can legitimately mean only love for the people constituting the nation. True, we may have a poetic or artistic love for our wave-beat shores and wind-swept fields, our gorgeous landscapes and towering mountain heights, but patriotism itself is confined to the love of the citizens of a nation, one for another. And, it is axiomatic that true patriotism in days of peace is limited and measured solely by the mutual interest and love of the people, one for another —and by the individuals for the population of the country as a whole.

This analysis involves a careful scrutiny of the various human types and human elements comprising the nation. And, because this is true, it is perfectly natural that America, as a patriotic country in times of peace, should rank lowest among the nations of the world. Because of the complex makeup of our population we have as yet but one common ground upon which these human elements may stand, viz., that of making money. The traditional and heart-felt love of country within the breasts of multi-

millions of so-called Americans, is not for the Stars and Stripes, not for the United States as such, but for the mother countries from which they come, or from which their parents came, and under the sods of which, the bones of their forefathers repose. This does not apply alone to the peasant class of immigrants who have adopted America as their home, but to some of the rich and powerful among us as well, because they too are held to the lands of their forebears by the unbreakable ties of memory and tradition.

While the older nations may hold as much "patriotic" hatred for other nations as does the United States, they excel our country in patriotic love of their own lands and their own people. This is perfectly natural, for they are practically free from the psychological and sociological problems inevitably resultant from a mixed population, comprising a new nation like our own. Many of the old countries hold traditions of their own peculiar types and breeds, covering the entire stretch of authentic history. They naturally love their own kind, and in so doing they love the people of their own countries. Of course, there are some notable exceptions to this rule, particularly in the vast domain

of India. In that land there are widely differing groups, with distinct lines of race, religion, caste, and theories of government, separating them. These internal divisions and conflicts render practically impotent, what would otherwise be one of the most powerful nations on the earth. As a result, it is a land without much real patriotism.

Turning to a study of patriotism in the United States, after a careful analysis of the widely varying human elements comprising our population, we find that a real and abiding patriotism is a psychological impossibility. While we are not as a nation old enough, and while the lines of demarcation between the discordant elements of our population are not sufficiently distinct to produce openly antagonistic classes, it remains that as yet solidification of the whole into a harmonious unit of national thought and purpose, is a practical impossibility.

As already stated, the only common meeting point for harmonious thought and endeavor is that conducive to the accumulation of wealth. Upon this one thing, as a rule, all our minds are set, and to this one end all of our energies are bent. Time alone can remedy this defect in our

national life. Not until after the passing of many generations, not until after a complete blending of all the bloods and a mixture of all the racial and national strains now represented among us, is accomplished, producing what is to be the future distinct American type, with perhaps a thousand years of memories and traditions behind it, can there be in America a pure patriotism.

At present there is only one great element of our population, other than those who are traditionally tried and true Americans, which has no memory of foreign lands, no foreign traditions to cherish, and no ties to bind them to distant domains. That class, of course, consists of the colored citizens of the United States. Taking an optimistic and philosophical view of the question, Negroes in America today must admit that even their having been brought to America in slavery, proved eventually a great blessing to the race. Bad as it was, their long period of slavery in this country led to the gateway through which, in time, even under great tribulation, they passed into a period of unlimited opportunity. Whether providential or not, it was one way of escape from what otherwise

might have been a more permanent enslavement of near savagery, which had already held them in mental bondage through many centuries.

Therefore, members of the colored group in America should be thankful that even that means of escape came their way. And certainly, they can hold no memories and no traditions to call them back and bind them to the original state of their ancestors. And, to their everlasting credit, be it said that today, as a group, they hold no rancor in their hearts toward the people who were the means of their coming out of Africa; and, almost without a single exception, they have been and are, in every sense, loyal to the American government. They love this country, not only for what they have already been permitted to achieve, but more so because of the ever-increasing opportunities it affords them for development into ideal citizenship in the days to come. Without holding the slightest brief for Negroes as a class, the statement that as such, they are more purely patriotic than any other distinct group in our country, is an indisputable fact, completely evidenced by their past performance.

Not only as a group have Negroes been loyal

to our government, always ready to bear arms in time of war, and always faithful in times of peace, but many incidents of individual courage and lofty patriotism adorn the history of the Negro race in the United States.

A full account of the deeds of individual heroism performed by American Negroes in both war and peace, would make a large and most engaging volume. Here, we shall confine ourselves to only two or three, the first being Peter Bigstaff, the hero of Carrizal, which is perhaps the outstanding example of Negro bravery. When in 1916, the United States sent a punitive expedition under General Pershing into Mexico, in pursuit of the Villa forces which had raided Columbus, New Mexico, two Negro regiments, the 10th Cavalry and the 24th Infantry were a part of the expedition. On June 21st, troops C and K of the 10th Cavalry were ambushed by seven hundred Mexican soldiers. Outnumbered almost ten to one, these black soldiers dismounted in the face of a withering machine gun fire, deployed, charged the Mexicans and killed their commander. These Negroes fought on until two of the three officers commanding them were killed, and the other

was badly wounded. Peter Bigstaff fought to the last beside his commander, Lieutenant Adair. In the course of a tribute to the Carrizal fighters, the distinguished orator and publicist, John Temple Graves of Georgia, said: "The black trooper might have faltered and fled a dozen times, saving his own life and leaving Adair to fight alone, but that never seemed to occur to him. He was comrade to the last blow. When Adair's broken revolver fell from his hand, the black trooper pressed another into it, and together shouting in defiance, they thinned the swooping circle of overwhelming odds before them. The black man fought in the deadly shamble side by side with the white man, following always and fighting always as his Lieutenant fought. And finally, when Adair, literally shot to pieces, fell in his tracks, his last command to his black trooper was to leave him and save his own life. Even then the heroic Negro paused in the midst of that hell of carnage for a final service to his officer. Bearing a charmed life, he had fought his way out. He saw that Adair had fallen with his head in the water. With superb loyalty, the black trooper turned and went back to the maelstrom

of death, lifted the head of his superior, leaned him against a tree and left him there dead with dignity. It was impossible to serve any more.

"There is not a finer piece of soldierly devotion and heroic comradeship," says Mr. Graves, "in the history of modern warfare than that of Henry Adair and the black trooper who fought with him at Carrizal."

In the annals of American heroism the name of Peter Bigstaff will forever be linked with that of Sergeant Alvin York and the entire constellation of the brave deserving very great honor.

The Negro soldiers from the United States made a wonderful record on the battlefields of France. They were the first of the American Expeditionary Forces to get into action. The first soldiers of the American Army to be decorated for bravery in France were two Negroes, Henry Johnson and Needham Roberts, members of the 369th Infantry, which was formerly the 15th New York National Guard Regiment.

In peace as well as in war, many Negroes have performed heroic deeds. Space does not permit our naming about fifty colored men to whom has been awarded the Carnegie Hero Medal. The deeds these men did, largely to

save white people from death, unquestionably entitle the doers to honored place among the galaxy of American heroes.

When we thoroughly understand the true meaning of the term patriotism, we must know that it consists of the essential elements of a number of the other recognized saving agencies of human history. While all of these other agencies, such as education, religion, fraternity, legislation, etc., are essential, and good within themselves, as distinct forces they have not been able to produce and maintain any ideal civilization either national or international. It is only through the profoundly patriotic understanding and application of their saving qualities, that they become effective. The true patriot is educated in the sense that he evolves his own mental and moral forces, and uses them for the good of his country; is religious, perhaps not with regard to formulated creeds and theological dogma, but in the sense that he is patriotically bound to his fellow citizens in the common cause of protecting the best interests of his country always and everywhere; is fraternal in that he recognizes a common brotherhood among the citizens of his country and is ready to do, and

to die if necessary, for that brotherhood; is dedicated to the cause of legislation for the best government of his country in that by his vote he selects the best type of law-makers for his land, and loyally obeys the worthy laws enacted by such men.

There can be no deadlier blow to the patriotism of any country than a sweeping disrespect for, and disobedience of the laws of that country. Such a course produces a nation, to say the least, of technical criminals and an atmosphere in which real criminals openly thrive and eventually overthrow the entire legal system. A true patriotism does not disobey any law, but in event unjust laws are enacted, it hastens to correct those laws through the process of repeal and enactment of laws that are just. Today, we are in the midst of such a situation, which, if not soon corrected, can but lead either to revolution or a state of tyranny worse than that which characterized France or Russia in their most unbearable periods. Only an improved patriotism in America can save us from impending disaster.

In summing up the various elements of our present American citizenship, we should ponder well the comparative qualities of excellence,

with their potentialities for accomplishment of the end so much to be desired. Among these elements as dependable patriots, the American Negro takes high rank. This is true because he has not been polluted and degraded with material riches. His soul has not been hardened by centuries of unbroken ease and affluence. He has been refined by the fires of servitude and suffering. He still knows how to suffer for a cause, and how to keep strong his faith in things hoped for but unrealized. He is still able to endure without complaint, and to sing in solitude. For his country and for his ideals he is not only ready to suffer, but if necessary, to die. So far as patriotism goes, he is unspoiled by things past, present, or hoped for in the future.

Relative to that all-important question, national patriotism, American Negroes—comprising more than one-tenth of the population, which means more than one-tenth of our manpower—are perhaps our greatest national asset.

CHAPTER IX

THE NEGRO AND NATIONAL ART

THE standards of a nation's art are determined, of course, by the artistic genius and the art productions of its people. These standards are raised or lowered with each generation according to the growth or decadence of the nation's cultural life, and its sustained artistic position among the nations of the world is fixed by the general average of excellence in its cultural background.

The term *art* is very elastic and vastly comprehensive. In its most limited usage it usually refers to the production of pictures. In its broadest scope it includes everything in the vast realm of the true and the beautiful. It manifests itself through thousands of physical movements from the handling of a knife and fork to the extremist action of any sort, unconsciously revealing the natural, artistic bent of the brain. Not only in physical action, denoting ease and manifesting grace, but in the mental realm, an

artistic nature reveals itself in truth and in beauty. It is therefore the most refining of all mental qualities, because art is essentially true. That which is false in word or deed, or in any sort of manifestation is not really artistic. Art is always harmonious. It never jars the refined sensibilities, whether approached through the eye or the ear. Music, painting, architecture, sculpture, decoration, acting, public speaking, poetic expression in any form, grace of movement, ease of action, and consummate control of self or of external forces, all belong to the realm of art.

The true artist in any line of thought or endeavor is the product of heredity and environment. The artist is both *born* and *made*. The real artist must first have inherited the artistic temperament and then, through endless devotion to the development of his gifts, grow into full artistic stature.

Before an individual can become an artist, and before a nation can take an honored place among the artistic peoples of the world, both the individual and the nation as a whole, must understand the practical value—even the necessity—of art, for without it there can be no real civili-

zation. Only that which is artistic can endure. The true and the beautiful abide forever, but the false and the ugly pass away. The successive generations fondly and religiously preserve the artistic products of the ages with memory, and history, and tradition pointing to them as the most priceless possessions of races and nations; while on the other hand, that which is false and repulsive, they ultimately destroy and endeavor to forget.

The infinite, creative and preserving force of the universe, which we call God, is above all things artistic. Well may we finite and mortal creatures with all our might, endeavor to imitate the infinite in the artistic sense. Art is purity. The greatest of all teachers said, "Blessed are the pure at heart for they shall see God." And certainly one way of seeing God, is when we behold the beauties of nature through an artistic eye. Pity the soul which, in the sky over-arched with blue, the sward carpeted with green, and the sunset burnished with gold, does not see the God of beauty. The flowers of the field, more beautifully arrayed than was King Solomon in all his glory, the birds in the air with their gorgeous plumage and

golden voices, together with the multitudinous sights and sounds of nature, on land and sea, and in the high heavens, whether whispering or thundering, all proclaim that the hand which made them is artistically divine.

That individual who has no artistic sense and no appreciation of the beautiful, is far removed from the nature of God. It may be said of a nation, as well, that if it does not cherish artistic values, it discounts the most essential civilization-producing quality, and is destined ultimately to disintegrate through material decay. The greatest difficulty both for the individual, and for people en masse to achieve artistic excellence, is in overcoming the "taboo" of very many well-meaning but uninformed people who call themselves "practical." They discount the value of the beautiful, and would class all who have the "artistic" temperament as impractical and unimportant. This writer very well remembers his old Sunday School teacher who criticized him for reading poetry, by saying, "That sounds very pretty, but I can't see any meat and bread in it." The same idea was expressed by a Scotsman with a bovine mind, who happened one beautiful day to be in com-

pany with an immortal Scottish poet out in the Highlands. The poet was thrilled with the glorious sunshine, the songs of birds and the natural beauty all around him, but the man who was with him saw none of that, and expressed the highest thought within him by saying, "This would be a fine day to dry clothes."

For several, as yet unavoidable reasons, our own nation, the same as it does in national patriotism, ranks comparatively low in national art. In the first place, as a nation, we are too young to have the traditions, ruins and memories essential to the production of a highly artistic people; and secondly, we are so completely consumed with the thought of material wealth, and are so much occupied with the getting of wealth, that we have not as yet had the time or the inclination to pursue art as a great national asset. As a result, so far, we have not produced anything in an artistic way that would lend to us as a people, any comparative artistic distinction. Should some calamity overtake us and bring about an overthrow of our government, future history would have but little to record in the way of American artistic achievement. True, in our big cities we have produced a colos-

sal and frightful architecture, which proclaims material riches rather than artistic refinement. We have done but little out of the ordinary in the fields of painting, sculpture, the composition of music and literature. It is only in the spheres of dramatics and oratory that we can legitimately claim national artistic distinction.

It is rather paradoxical, that in America, by means of our material wealth, we have already accumulated and appropriated for our own entertainment, much of the art of other lands. If we have not produced any Handels, Wagners, Bachs and Beethovens, we certainly have made the finest pianos and other modern musical instruments in all the world. If we have not produced great singers and instrumentalists from our own kind, with our money we have imported the best from other nations, and as a result we have the finest music of every type. If we have not propagated and developed any Rubens, Rembrandts, Raffaels and da Vincis in the field of painting, our multi-millionaires, whether from real appreciation, or as fads to gain publicity, have not hesitated to buy and bring into this country all of the fine products of the great masters they could secure with gold. But in

ability to create artistic gems of any character, we as a nation are yet woefully lacking.

It is most difficult to predict with approximate accuracy what the artistic future of this nation is to be. In order to form any adequate opinion in this direction, it becomes necessary to analyze the constituent human elements of our complex national makeup. That there may be hope of Americans making artistic history at some time in the future, we have but to consider the foreign elements in our population, much of which comes from countries with splendid artistic background. We have a great many Latins from Italy, France and Spain, through whose veins may run some of the blood of the old masters, and whose souls readily respond to the appeal of all artistic beauty. And, we have as well, hosts of descendants from Germany, in whose beings are incarnated the qualities that lent grandeur to the productions of Wagner and of many others whose achievements placed Germany among the greatest of artistic nations. We are not without a great many Greeks, descendant from the sculptors, painters, orators, and poets of the ancient republic whose glory lived long after the nation bowed its neck beneath the

heel of the invader. From all other foreign countries, gray with age and rich in artistic tradition, we have representatives in our land; but of all of them it may be said that they too, for the present, with mind and hand are set to the getting of material gain. And, the only hope we can hold of their making any distinct artistic contribution to American history, must be from their children and their children's children, in a future day when they shall have gotten away from the all-consuming lure of gold.

Fortunately, however, we have a racial element among us with all the natural, inherited artistic qualities of the older nations, and as yet uncorrupted by material greed and worldly riches. In addition to this, they have been rendered more artistic in the deep sense through the suffering they have had to endure. No individual, and no group of individuals ever attain artistic greatness which, after all, is the only true greatness, except through the refining fires of difficulty and trouble. In this way, and in this alone, is the dross separated from the pure gold of human excellence. No men or women have ever yet sung divinely until after their hearts were broken. The same is true of paint-

ers and poets, and of artists in every other field. Likewise the heart of a race may be broken, even to the extent that for long years it can sing only in the minor strain. This was true of the Jews many centuries ago, and it was true of Negroes in the part they played as slaves in the early history of America. And thus, we have as our greatest national asset in the artistic sense, the Negro in the United States.

Analysis of the Negro, reveals him as truly artistic. There is rythm in his every movement, whether it be the indolent, untutored, and lazy "darky" of the old South, or the smartest and most cultured Negro of the present day. With this thought in mind, I have watched the colored people in every sphere of their life and activity. I have never seen anything more artistic than the grand manner of a locally famous colored head-waiter in a splendid hotel in a southern city. The way he meets and greets, and seats his guests, would contribute to the atmosphere of the most anciently refined drawing-room of Europe. I have seen nothing more graceful than the manner and movements of the colored waiters in this same hotel. There is distinguished ease and elegance in their style of handling a

tray filled with china, and silver receptacles, as they bring food to the tables of the guests. There is poetic grace in the shamble of barefooted Negroes on the southern plantations. There is music in their voices as they talk and laugh, and croon and sing; and, when it comes to the stage, on which more and more in our great cities they are dancing, acting and singing, theirs is a natural art compared with which that of all others is incomparable.

With these inherited artistic attributes, as they increase in knowledge and enjoy larger opportunity of self-expression, within the next few generations Negroes will make the very largest contribution to the national art of the United States.

While it is not the writer's plan to put into these pages figures and statistics, nor the personal praise of many individuals, he has only to refer in passing to such outstanding Negro artists of the present generation as Harry T. Burleigh, Richard B. Harrison, Charles Winter Wood, Roland Hayes, Paul Robeson, the late Charles Gilpin, the late Florence Mills, and hosts of others who easily rank as stars of the first magnitude, to predict with certainty that,

of their kind, a great number is destined soon to arise and leap like flames above the clouds and glorify the artistic heavens.

While as yet Negroes as an artistic class, have not been nationally recognized to any great extent, their accomplishments in this direction have been so compelling that national and worldwide recognition can be but a little way off. There is yet to be produced, and let us hope in the not far distant future, the great American opera, embodying Negro history in the United States. The lyrics and the music must be composed by Negroes, the orchestra must be of Negroes, and the singers must be Negroes. Perhaps the time is not quite ripe for its consummation, but it cannot be far away. And when it does come, it will be something entirely new upon our horizon, and the nation and the world will be moved and thrilled by its beauty and grandeur. It will outstrip our modern white productions which deal with lust and passion, and trivial incident, as far as the tragedy of a race passing from tribulation to triumph, surpasses the braying of a donkey in a barnyard. It will easily compare in human interest and artistic expression with the works of the great masters of the past, when

they dealt with the drama, the emotions and the tragedies of commanding figures and national issues.

To realize the truth of all this, one must occupy a lofty position and see with unobstructed vision. To narrow minds which dwell in the low grounds of prejudice, such a conception is impossible. It is only from the lofty plane of human possibilities growing out of human history, that one may see and understand the tremendous fact that from the viewpoint of national art, which after all is a national necessity, the Negro is one of our greatest, if not the greatest, of our national assets.

CHAPTER X

NEGRO POTENTIALITIES

THE inherent capacity for development and accomplishment by an individual, or by a group of individuals, may be approximately measured from observance of past performance. The potentialities of the individual or of the group, of course, are enhanced by improved surroundings and increased opportunities.

One of the most engaging and revealing publications in the United States is the "Negro Year Book" which is an encyclopedia of the Negro, compiled and edited by Professor Monroe N. Work, Director of the Department of Records and Research, Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute, Tuskegee, Alabama. This work is all the more significant because it is entirely authentic. In comprehensive scope and exhaustive detail, it sets forth the history and achievements of the American Negro in every walk of life. Lack of space renders impossible our mentioning in detail the multitudinous

things Negroes have already achieved in the United States. Even to turn the statistical facts contained in the Year Book into narrative form, were it permissible, would be a fascinating task. But that also is impossible here, because it alone would run into a sizeable volume.

All the facts relative to Negro history in America unquestionably show that, considering the difficulties, no other racial group in the history of the world has achieved as much within a like period of time, as Negroes have done within the last fifty years. Their progress has been conspicuous in the four great divisions of human effort, viz., *economic, educational, religious,* and *artistic.*

At this point we cannot refrain from setting down a few significant facts and figures. So far as their economic advancement is concerned, if we confine the meaning of the term to the purely material, under the sub-classifications of owning property, carrying on business and accumulating wealth, it is lowest in the scale of importance among their outstanding achievements. Judged by the spirit of modern times and the trend of this material age, in this sense, the economic is the all-important phase of life.

But regardless of its real relative importance, Negroes in America have made remarkable economic showing. In 1866, they owned 12,000 homes in the United States; now, they own approximately 750,000 homes. Sixty years ago they operated 20,000 farms; but today, they operate at least 1,000,000 farms. In 1866, in actual wealth Negroes in America were worth about $20,000,000; but now, they are worth at least $1,500,000,000. Compared with the economic increase among white people during the same period, these figures, of course, are small; but considering the Negro's lack of opportunity and the obstacles he has had to overcome, they are most astonishing.

It is interesting to note that colored people are successfully operating in every branch of productive endeavor and business industry. In farming, real estate, manufacturing, professional practice, finance, and every phase of trade and traffic, they have demonstrated the ability that succeeds. Excluding some 20,000 boarding and lodging-house keepers, there are in our country more than 50,000 Negroes owning and operating successful businesses. In 1900, the late Dr. Booker T. Washington founded and became the

first President of the National Negro Business League. He held this office until the time of his death, and was succeeded by Dr. Robert R. Moton, who also succeeded Dr. Washington as Principal of Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute. The National Negro Business League, since its organization, has every year increased in scope and efficiency, and today is one of the great business organizations in the United States.

Mr. Albon L. Holsey, Secretary to Dr. Moton and of Tuskegee Institute, is also Secretary of the National Negro Business League. For two years Mr. Holsey has been giving a large amount of his time and energy to the Colored Merchants' Association, a voluntary grocery chain, which was formed to aid the American Negro in economic adjustment. This Association is sponsored by the National Negro Business League, and is intended to win back to colored merchants, the trade of 12,000,000 people —a trade which in food alone is estimated by the League to aggregate $1,650,000,000 a year, most of which has been and is being done in "white" stores.

Mr. Hosley is meeting with remarkable

success in his work, the Association at the time of this writing comprising 253 independent groceries in fifteen cities from Montgomery, Alabama, to Dallas, Texas, and from the City of New York to Omaha, Nebraska. It is destined soon to reach nation-wide proportions. This is only one incident of the new spirit of organization which is permeating Negro business, and is inspiring the race in America to a greatly enlarged economic endeavor.

If the Negro's economic advancement has thus been conspicuous, his educational, religious and artistic advancement has been much greater. Negro education is by no means limited to grammar school courses, but proportionately measures up to the higher standards of academic, vocational, college, professional and university training. It is a significant fact that in 1866, 90% of the colored population was illiterate. Today, less than 10% of American Negroes are illiterate, showing a gain of over 70% in literacy within a period of fifty years. When they were liberated, Negroes had only fifteen colleges and normal schools, but now they have more than five hundred. Then they had 100,000 students in public schools; now, they have 2,000,000. In

all schools fifty years ago, there were about 600 Negro teachers, while now there are approximately 50,000. The value of property for higher education at that time was about $60,000; but now, such property owned by Negroes is worth more than $30,000,000. The annual expenditures for Negro education then was about $700,000; now, it is considerably above $15,000,000.

Relative to the religious and artistic achievements of the Negro, we shall not add to what has been said in previous chapters, other than to emphasize the fact that in these fields they have outstripped their advancement in material economics and technical education. In proportionate educational and religious progress, if they are not ahead of the white race, they are fully abreast with it.

In laying our foundation for the consideration of Negro potentialities, it is necessary to take into account the evil as well as the good in the Negro. An attempt to idealize the Negro by dwelling alone upon his good qualities, and by overlooking his faults, would be extremely foolish and would defeat the purpose of this discussion, which is to arrive at conclusions from

a logical consideration of all the known facts.

Among the full quota of Negroes comprising more than a tenth of American population, they have perhaps more than their proportionate number of criminals, potential if not actual. And, as Negroes compare with white people by nature, and by training and opportunity for the practice of the virtues, they likewise compare with them by nature, and by training and opportunity for the commission of crime.

The question of who are criminals and who are not criminals in America, is at present a most difficult one. If every violator of any law or statute of the Federal and State Governments is, to say the least, technically a criminal, it is no doubt true that a very large majority of our people who boast of being "free, white and twenty-one" belong to the criminal class. And, this does not apply to those who commit crime in ignorance of the law, for nobody can claim ignorance of the existence of the 18th Amendment and the Volstead Act, both of which millions of citizens, white and black, openly and boastfully flout and daily disobey. However, with regard to citizens charged with crime, overtaken, convicted and imprisoned, in proportion

to the population, there are more Negro criminals than white ones. A careful study of the crimes committed by the two classes, however, will reveal that a majority of Negro criminals have been proven guilty of lesser crimes as a rule, than is true of white criminals. Indeed, many Negroes have been lynched for such comparatively petty offenses as grave-robbery, threatened political exposure, slander, self-defense, wife-beating, cutting levees, kidnapping, voodooism, poisoning horses, writing insulting letters, incendiary language, swindling, jilting a girl, colonizing Negroes, turning States evidence, political troubles, gambling, quarrelling, throwing stones, unpopularity, making threats, circulating scandals, bad reputation, drunkenness, strike rioting, insults, supposed offenses, fraud, criminal abortion, enticing servant away, etc., etc. Also, a very large percentage of Negroes convicted of crime have been sent to penitentiaries for petty larceny, and other minor offenses. And, while many Negroes have been guilty of murder and the worse crime of rape, and some of them have been highway robbers, and have committed other very grave offenses, they have not as a class had much part

in the organized crime now so prevalent among white people. Negro criminals, for most part, are easily handled by our legal system, and have not yet become a menace to our social life.

There may be among Negroes as a class, as they become more educated and materially more powerful, potential criminals of the major quality, but as yet they are not recognized and feared as such. A criminal Negro, inflamed and on a rampage, is a very dangerous individual, but he is not as dangerous as the "white killer" who, with cunning and cool calculation, singly or in organized groups, plans and executes his campaigns of destruction. It remains to be seen whether with the future development of Negroes as a class, any of them are to become super-criminals, such as characterize the white race and now constitute the greatest menace to our national life and liberty.

Proceeding however, from a consideration of the past performance of Negroes, both in good and evil ways, we may forecast with some degree of accuracy the potentialities of the Negro in the future, for both evil and good.

The next generation of American Negroes will comprise approximately 15,000,000 people.

They will control vast wealth. Theirs will be a mighty influence, tremendously affecting every branch of thought and activity. They will be so powerful that no other element of the population can afford to be contemptuous of them. The cumulative strength of the colored population in the coming years will be tremendous. It will render the so-called race problem a question entirely different from the timeworn and threadbare "race problem" of the past. It will be a mighty mass of physical, mental and moral human potentiality, wrapped in colored skin, to be moulded, shaped, cultivated, nurtured, guided and directed. These developing and evolving influences will determine the Negro's future in this nation.

One potential evil to the nation from the Negro, lies in the fact that he is easily influenced, and by nature is quick to imitate others, both in thought and activity. And unless the evil forces emanating from vicious foreign minds, such as Communism, Bolshevism, etc., are counteracted by a revival of the original principles of Americanism, many American Negroes of this rising generation, and still more

in the next generation, may be easy victims of those insidious forces.

Our colored people heretofore, if possible, have been better than 100% American, but in the future they may not sustain that record. Their action depends upon the leadership they follow. Patriotic thinkers and leaders of both races have a tremendous responsibility resting upon them at the present moment, to see to it that the up-coming Negroes of the near future are not led astray by emissaries from abroad, who plan the eventual overthrow of our government. They are constantly sowing evil seeds everywhere, and the Negro mind in America might prove a fertile soil for them, unless it is fully occupied by seeds of truth from the sound principles of Americanism.

The shades of thought which are to characterize future Afro-Americans are of vastly greater importance and fraught with consequence far outweighing anything that might in any sense result from a consideration of the color of their skin. If their minds do not go "red," we need give no thought to the bodily color of American Negroes. Physical color is no menace to patriotism.

The foregoing does not in any sense mean that the writer believes there is a present tendency on the part of any appreciable number of American Negroes, to go "red" in their attitude toward the government. He is only trying to emphasize the fact that one of the potentialities of the Negro for evil, is the possibility of his going "red" in the future. It is very easy to conceive of this possibility, should the masses of white Americans remain indifferent to, if not actually contemptuous of, the real and legitimate interests and rights of the Negro population. And, at the same time, should the foreign enemies of our government, through the power of money and their insidious appeal to prejudice and passion, take advantage of the situation by arousing the Negro's resentment of past treatment in this country, he might become a very serious menace to the future welfare of the nation.

Another Negro potentiality for evil in the future, lies in the fact that he might become a seriously disturbing social factor. It is impossible for us to idealize the Negro by exalting him to the plane of absolute and permanent altruism. We cannot think of him as being so

devoted to duty and to the cause of universal human happiness, that he will not ever give way to the force of human selfishness, human prejudices, and human passions. And, just because he is human, as he grows in strength and power, and influence, he may overstep the boundaries of prudence and safety, and precipitate a social conflict that might have sanguinary results. But so long as sane leadership characterizes those of both races who honestly and earnestly desire full understanding and pacific cooperation between the races, there is no danger of such an outbreak. However, should the radical and fanatical elements of either, or of both races get hold of the reins and direct future racial movements, there is no telling how disastrous the outcome might be.

Another potential danger to the future, that might result from the colored people, is the possibility, if not probability, of Negro laborers in ever increasing numbers leaving the agricultural districts of the South. The situation is bad enough at present, and should colored workers in great numbers continue to leave the plantations of the South for the manufacturing centers, and for employment in the cities of the

North, southern farmers as a class, are destined to become bankrupt.

In order to prevent such a calamity, two very definite things must be accomplished, viz., southern white people must awake to the fact that in the past they have not given Negro laborers a square deal, and that in the future this mistake must be corrected; secondly, southern Negroes must realize that if in a new régime they are to receive fair and equitable treatment from white employers, their future success and happiness in largest measure is to be found on the southern soil. For after all, the South is the Negro's native clime, and to it he is congenially adapted, both mentally and physically. The only thing essential to his complete happiness and to a glorious future in the South, is the necessary mental adjustment between the two races. And, unless this is accomplished, the situation can but go on from bad to worse until it produces economic disaster and social upheaval.

The fourth and last potential evil that might come out of the Negro race, which would be destructive to themselves and possibly disastrous to future interracial amity, is the possibility of

its turning anti-religious. The suggestion of such a thing to some may appear far-fetched, but it is not an impossibility. Even though American Negroes have always been and still are distinctly a religious people, there is no assurance of their remaining so in the future. This possibility lies in the fact that they are emerging into what is called a "new freedom," and not a few of them already affect "new thought" and ultra-modernism in all its phases. This new thought and modern tendency may cause many of their would-be thinkers and leaders to consider religion as "old fashioned," and to class it with the mistakes and non-essentials of the old régime in which their "ignorant" ancestors suffered so intensely. In their desire to get away from, and to entirely forget everything characteristic of their unhappy past, they may stray so far from the fundamentals of human happiness as to class religion with the evils of other days, and to espouse the extreme radicalism of the new day as offering them the most and best for their future.

Of course, there is not the slightest danger of the present generation of Negroes turning away from the faith of their fathers; but of the next

generation we may not be so sure. Already the seeds of infidelity and atheism are being sown in the minds of living Negroes, and following the modern trend of the white race away from God and fundamental religion, the coming generation of Negroes may be as extremely infidel as the present generation is faithful.

It would be difficult to conceive of a greater menace to the prosperity, peace and happiness of the colored race, than for it to become "red" with reference to government, fanatical in its "social" attitude, and atheistic in relation to God and religion. Such a course could but court self-destruction, and to prevent it, every sane influence emanating from both white and colored leaders should be quickly and continuously exerted.

Turning from the dark side to the bright side of Negro potentialities for the future, we can but observe that the good, which by faith we may confidently predict must result, may in detail be the exact opposite of the evil potentialities above outlined. Hence, it is scarcely necessary that we enumerate them. Instead of allowing the future Negro mind to turn "red," it must be kept white. Instead of his becoming

a disturbing social element, he must realize that before he wears his spurs, he must win them. And, by the same token, white people who have not accorded him his legitimate social recognition, must in every sense do so in the future. Above all, the white man must go further than a mere proclaiming of democracy and religion embodied in the theory of "The fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man," by being actually democratic in practice as well, and by being religious to the extent of including in the family of democracy and religion, every son and daughter of the human race.

The outcome of all this must largely depend upon the white man's conscientious attitude toward the Negro. He must recognize that if there is a "race" problem, white people in America are a part of that problem, and, to the extent that they exceed American Negroes in number, a greater part.

White people can perform their part in solving the problem to the satisfaction of everybody concerned, first, by giving real attention to Negroes. They must study the question and come to know the Negroes as well as Negroes know them. They must abandon, at once and

for all time, their ignorant and unreasonable prejudice against the Negro. They must give him credit for all he has been, for all he has done, for all that he is and all that he may accomplish in the future. They must recognize the Negro's human potentialities, with all that it is possible for him to mean to this country in the years to come. They must make a fair and complete appraisal of Negro values to the nation, and place him permanently in the column of national assets. In other words, they must give him a square deal.

On the other hand, the Negro must more than ever clean himself up, develop his mind, enlarge his activities, increase his wealth, and heighten his enjoyment of life. He must overlook the wrongs that have been done him, and forget his past injuries. He must understand that after all, it is only necessary that the great rank and file of white Americans have only to know him in order to like him. Knowledge comes only through the truth, and the more he knows the freer he will become. Not only will knowledge upon the part of the Negro himself, set him free socially, economically, and politically, but the increased knowledge of the Negro on the part

of the white man will rapidly facilitate the freedom which we all so much need and desire.

When understanding, harmony and cooperation become the interracial watchwords of America, as they apply to the Negro and the white man, and as they relate to all racial and national strains represented in our complex population, the real American spirit will abide within us and sustain us, and will carry us on to ultimate happiness and permanent peace.

CHAPTER XI

THE NEGRO'S ULTIMATE PLACE IN THE NATION

FROM the time the Negro was first brought in bondage to America, until the present, he has constantly been in a process of transition. By the immutable laws of nature, this process cannot stop until it is completed.

As already noted, in the distant future Negroes as a distinct people in this country will cease to exist. But in that ultimate finality, we at present have no practical interest. It is with the nearer "ultimate" state of the Negro in the United States, to be realized within one or two more generations, that we are intensely concerned. By this ultimate place of the Negro in the nation, we mean the new liberty in which, before very long, he is going to find himself, and in which, unmolested, he will be free to work out his own salvation, with the full cooperation of all the friendly forces of an ever-improving civilization. This will be his ultimate recog-

nizable state, until as a separate and distinct class he vanishes from view by being utilized and consumed along with all other distinctive classes in the final production of the American type.

In the new liberty which awaits him, and toward which he is rapidly moving, he will find himself entirely free from discrimination because of color, and of past bondage and material servitude.

One of the first steps in this direction, will be the legal abolishment of "Jim Crow" laws in the southern States. While it may be several years before this is accomplished, it is inevitable because the practice is ridiculous, based entirely on foolish sentiment and ungrounded prejudice. It is a part of the obsolete provincialism of the South, utterly at variance with the true spirit of national progress. That is exists solely because of illogical discrimination and inherited prejudice, is evidenced by the fact that the very finest white people in the South are not adverse to close contact with colored people. From the earliest days of Negro life in this country, southern people have thrived from close association, and some, literally from physical contact, with

Negroes. During the days of slavery, some white people in the South indulged in a practice, which, to highly refined individuals of both races, would today be undesirable. I refer to white children of southern aristocrats, having nursed at the breasts of colored women. That was the origin of the term "black mammy." It was a common practice in the days of slavery for colored coachmen to sit beside the finest white ladies while driving the splendid "turnouts" in that brilliant social era. Black hands prepared the foods of that day and generation in the South, the excellence of which has been handed down to this day, and by tradition will be kept alive for generations to come. Indeed, in every conceivable manner where it was possible for the Negro, in the capacity of a servant, to come in contact with southern white people, it was accepted without question.

Therefore, the revulsion of southerners at the idea of riding in the same coach with colored people, I repeat, is ridiculous. And, that it is in no sense hurtful to the comfort, the health and the dignity of white people, has been demonstrated by its common practice in all states north of the Ohio River. And further, that this

prejudice will disappear from the South, either by passing out of the minds of those now living or by the final passing of such people themselves, is one of the things which, if from no other reason, time itself in due course will remedy.

The same law of nature will also work a transformation in the minds of white people in the North in their attitude toward Negroes as a class, and more so, toward them as individuals. While there are no "Jim Crow" laws in the North, in hotels and restaurants they are discriminated against practically the same as in the South. In some instances, very well known to this writer, a few distinguished Negroes are welcomed as guests in some of the best hotels in the City of New York and in other northern cities. But as a rule, this is not done, and at the present time these same hotels would seriously object to the patronage of Negroes as a class. The same is true of some of the best restaurants in New York, and in other cities north of the Ohio River. But within a few years this will be changed, not by lifting the ban and welcoming all colored people into hotels and restaurants generally, but by gladly accepting the patronage of colored people of refinement,

and financial ability to afford it. The discrimination will not be one of color so much as of personal appearance, cultural and social standing.

This latter discrimination is entirely legitimate, because it is free of race discrimination, and is the same as that which naturally applies to all white people. There are varying standards resulting from common practice, determining the class of patronage in all hotels and restaurants. The financially poor, the unwashed, the coarse and uncouth, regardless of color, just naturally do not seek accommodation and service in highly refined and expensive places. This natural law always governs such things, because people do not desire to live and move in an atmosphere to which they are unaccustomed, for which they are in no way fitted, and in which they would be most uncomfortable. In the new freedom of the Negro, he will therefore find himself delivered from race and color discrimination, and the social recognition which he receives will be determined entirely by his individual fitness and by his financial ability to obtain it.

The same rule will apply to the Negro in all

other phases, such as public service, public employment, and public education. It will even go beyond all this and gain for him his proportionate and legitimate representation in all departments of the government—legislative, judicial and executive.

In none of these departments of public life will unhappy race history and the color of his skin operate against him. In all places of public employment, he will be accepted or rejected solely because of ability or inability to efficiently perform the work. Negroes will be admitted into all institutions of public education, free from discrimination because of race.

A very important feature of the Negro's ultimate place in the nation will be that of segregation. Heretofore, this has been a bane of his existence, not because residential grouping is objectionable, or even unnatural and undesirable, but because it has been compulsory. It is because they have been compelled through poverty, to exist amid unsanitary conditions, and have not been freely accorded the right to better their environment, even when they have been financially able to do so.

It is safe, however, to predict that in the fu-

ture the masses of colored people in our country will be segregated in the sense that they will voluntarily choose to live in racial groups. This will be for social and economic reasons which will contribute to their own happiness. In the first place, it will be for the purpose of racial solidarity, and for the demonstration of power, and the capacity to build for themselves a high state of civilization.

Some good day, in a community adjacent to some great colored educational institution, such a demonstration is going to be made. It would be a splendid idea for white or colored philanthropic capitalists, or for a group of such capitalists, to purchase a large tract of land adjacent to such an educational institution, divide that tract into small farms, and sell them to worthy colored people for the purpose of agricultural development, and to render easy the education of their children. With a rigid application of the principles of scientific agriculture, and of business and social economy, such a movement would soon result in one of the most ideal communities known to modern civilization.

Already this natural process of racial grouping has produced large, and in a sense, successful

Negro cities, even though they be "cities within cities," such as Harlem in the City of New York, the colored group on the South Side of Chicago, and other such groups in many other cities. This idea, we well know, is at variance and inconsistent with some things we have previously said in this book, but if so, it is but one of the paradoxes of human progress. Before the colored race in America becomes absorbed by the whole, it must first solidify, in order to eventually and naturally disintegrate. As a distinct people, it must first live as a unit, in order to properly die; and then, it must die, in order to ultimately live as a hidden, but powerfully component part of the whole.

At present, the colored element of our population is like the contents of a great river flowing on to find its home in the sea. The many streams of humanity which constitute a nation, are all flowing into the great ocean of life. Individuals die, and with the passing of the generations the multitudinous types of men and women constantly change, but mankind is immortal. Negroes as such, for the present are only a part of the ever-changing, dying, living—mortal—immortal human family. The human race itself

is a unit. And, not until this fact is realized, and not until it is accepted as such, can the world experience the "peace that passeth understanding."

THE END